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OCCULT CRIME: A LAW ENFORCEMENT PRIMER

INTRODUCTION

Occult - the word encourages a myriad of stereotypical images - the snaggletoothed old hag casting evil spells, the evil heretics worshipping the dark forces of Satan or the hedonist Pagan reveling in nocturnal orgies. The contemporary strength of such stereotypes is the most effective rationale for providing law enforcers with a basic and accurate primer on occult practices as well as their widely misunderstood and diverse belief systems.

Indeed, any officer investigating an alleged occult crime must be armed with a clear definitional understanding of the occult and the wide range of occult activities currently practiced in the United States. He or she must also be able to make a clear distinction between the legal *activities* of occultists and any illegal *crimes* committed in conjunction with an occult ritual. Finally, as veteran "occult cop" of the San Francisco Police Department, Sandi Gallant adamantly insists, investigators must "shed their personal and religious prejudices when they deal with the occult" lest they tred upon the foundations of the First Amendment. (Gallant Interview with the author, April 3, 1989.)

These are no easy tasks in the face of widespread allegations about heinous occult crimes. This study was conceived and designed to simplify such tasks for the law enforcer by broadening his or her basic understanding of occult activity and occult crime; explaining the complex controversies that currently surround and confound law enforcement's jurisdiction over occult activity and occult crime; describing useful investigatory techniques shared by "occult cops" (the street jargon for law enforcement investigators of the occult) from departments across the nation; and suggesting a wide variety of resources that may be contacted for further assistance.

The Problem

If you ask the small but experienced group of occult investigators who have worked the occult crime beat throughout the 1980s, most will agree that both occult *activity* and occult *crime* are problems for law enforcers across the nation. But that is about all they will agree upon. Disagreement abounds over a myriad of issues surrounding the occult, the first and foremost being the *extent* of occult crime. Many law enforcers argue that occult criminal activity is widespread and warrants further law enforcement resources; others submit that while people *perceive* the existence of occult crime, in reality, very little is actually committed.

Thus, the real issue law enforcers must face today is not proving or disproving the extent of occult crime. Instead, law enforcers must deal with the fact that a growing segment of the American population perceives occult activity and occult crime are major problems in society, and this concerned public expects law enforcers "to do something about it!" Like it or not, law enforcers will increasingly be drawn into the world of the occult.

What really matters, then, is this perception, this fear that the occult and its various legal and illegal activities have permeated the nation and threaten our social, emotional and spiritual foundations. We need to examine these perceptions by historically and contemporarily defining occult activity, drawing careful distinctions between occult activity and occult crime, learning what motivates some people to become involved in the occult and some occultists to enter the world of criminality, and comprehending the controversies surrounding this emotional topic. Once these perceptions are dissected and understood, law enforcers will have a clearer idea of their roles in relation to occult activity and crime.

Methodology

This study is based upon five primary sources of information:

1. Monographs, studies and books dealing with certain aspects of the occult;

2. Individuals whose professional and/or personal lives have drawn them into the world of the occult: law enforcers, prosecutors, therapists, researchers, journalists, clergy members, and victims;

3. Organizations at the local, state and national level that provide occult-related information and services;

4. Local, state and federal government agencies that have conducted relevant hearings and/or studies; and

5. Training seminars, workshops, and community meetings devoted to occult topics, as well as the various materials generated for such presentations.

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Contents and Organization

The goal of carefully defining the terms central to the occult influenced the organizational contents of this study. Because law enforcers all too often use several terms interchangeably - occult, Satanic, ritualistic - this study is committed to placing such terms in an appropriate definitional context. While these terms are related, they simply are not interchangeable. Consider the following:

> *Occult activity involves the use or secret knowledge of actions and/or rituals connected to supernatural beliefs and/or supernatural powers.*
>
> *Satanic activity involves a belief that Satan will bring personal power over oneself, others and the external environment and, in turn, such power will permit the believer to live by whatever moral and ethical codes one wishes to adopt.*
>
> *Ritualistic activity involves repeated physical, sexual, psychological, and/ or spiritual acts.*

Occultism, then, is the umbrella term for a wide array of belief systems that involve or use supernatural beliefs and/or powers. Satanism is just *one* of many such belief systems; it is not *the* occult, but rather a *type* of occult belief system. Occult activities, Satanism included, are legal as long as adherence to the belief system does not motivate or require the commission of a criminal act. Ritualism, which involves a series of repeated acts, is a *method* for celebrating a belief system. In cases where ritualistic methods involve some sort of abuse, their commission becomes a criminal rather than a legal activity.

This study emphasizes the need for law enforcers not only to understand these differences in terminology, but to become knowledgable about the various belief systems and activities of the major occult groups operating in the United States. Once such knowledge is obtained, law enforcers can begin to make educated distinctions between *legal, Constitutionally protected occult activity* and *illegal occult activity* which has increasingly become known as occult crime. To that end, the belief systems and legal activities typical of historical and contemporary occult groups are the subject of Chapter One; the illegal activities and rituals practiced by some occultists are the subject of Chapter Two; and the manner in which law enforcers learn about and handle both legal and illegal occult activities is the subject of Chapter Three.

The Extent of Occult Crime

Currently, it is impossible to measure the extent of occult crime because few law enforcement agencies specifically record occult and occult-related crime, and those agencies that do keep such figures define occult primarily as Satanic in nature, lumping anything that is different but not necessarily criminal into an all-inclusive but inaccurate occult category.

While this report does not "take sides" in the current debate over whether or not law enforcers *should* record all crimes related to the occult, it does emphasize that most information about the extent of occult crime is based upon what people *actually believe* rather than what they *factually know.* Such perceptions have fueled the contemporary notion that occult crime has reached epidemic proportions. For instance, consider the following:

At a professional meeting held in 1987, a Utah State Prison system official claimed that based upon his knowledge of the State's inmates, an estimated 60,000 persons were annually killed in ritualistic homicides, many of which had occult links.

The Chicago-based headquarters of the Cult Awareness Network (CAN) claims that there have been nationwide increases in both occult and cult activity. Such claims are based upon the number of calls received about *Satanic activity*: in October 1986, CAN received no calls; in October 1987, CAN received 20 calls; in October 1988, CAN received 309 calls from each of the 50 states.

Maury Terry's investigation of the Son of Sam shootings, *The Ultimate Evil*, theorizes a link between David Berkowitz and a local Satanic cult which was part of a nationwide Satanic network. The network consisted of small groups of devil worshipers operating in New York, Los Angeles, Houston and North Dakota who not only commit crimes related to their belief in Satan, but are also "for hire" to other groups who need reliable assassins.

Such claims have also been refuted. Consider the following:

A spokesperson for the FBI refuted the allegations of the Utah State Prison official, pointing to annual UCR statistics that show the nationwide rate of *all* homicides averages about 20,000.

CAN's reports of Satanic activity are not substantiated, nor are they positively linked to any criminal activity.

A study conducted by the Committee for the Scientific Examination of Religion found that in the last five years, only about 60 of the more than one million violent crimes committed in the U.S. had Satanic overtones. The study's director noted the Committee found no evidence of any local, statewide or national conspiracy and the perpetrators of Satanic crime were largely mentally ill.

While the debate continues, only one thing remains certain: no one knows the actual extent of occult crime! Most information is largely perceptual, often based upon misinformation and fear, the experiences and assumptions of occult investigators, and unsubstantiated research conducted by persons who have spiritual, social and/or economic reasons to believe occult crime exists.

In addition to this *Introduction,* the "heart" of this study is contained in three chapters:

Chapter One- Defining Occult Activity: The Historical Roots and Contemporary Dimensions explains the historical origins and contemporary belief systems of four broad types of occult groups which are currently active in the United States: Neo-Pagans, Wiccans, Cultural Spiritualists, and Satanists.

Chapter Two - Defining Occult Crime: The Perpetrators, Their Actions and The Victims makes the distinct differentiation between occult activity and occult crime, describes perpetrator typologies and motives, explains the most common types of occult crimes, and discusses various victims' issues.

Chapter Three - Investigating Occult Crime: The Law Enforcement Role identifies barriers to dealing with occult crime, examines the law enforcer's role in occult crime, and provides resources specifically useful to law enforcers.

The *Conclusion* summarizes recommendations of law enforcers who contributed to this study. The resulting law enforcement "wish list" provides a workable agenda for future law enforcement action in regard to the occult.

Interspersed throughout the study are three types of key information:

1. A series of controversial issues entitled *The Occult Debate,* which explains the controversies and various viewpoints involved in seven of the most debated issues in the contemporary world of occult crime. Each of the following *Debates* explains the controversy and objectively presents each viewpoint:

- *Issue #1: Historical Depictions of Witchcraft - Reality or Myth?*
- *Issue #2: Dabbling in Music, Games, and the Occult - Contagion or Adolescent Maturation?*
- *Issue #3: Definitions of Occult Crime - Necessary or Superfluous Criminal Categories?*
- *Issue #4: Perpetrators of Ritualistic Abuse- Actions of True Believers or True Criminals?*
- *Issue #5: The Extent of Ritualistic Abuse - National Conspiracy or National Hysteria?*
- *Issue #6: Adult Victims of Ritualistic Abuse - Survivors or Delusionaries?*
- *Issue #7: Child Victims of Ritualistic Abuse - Abused or Indoctrinated?*

2. Resources for further information. Three years ago, if law enforcers came into contact with something "weird" that simply did not fit into traditional crime categories, they had only a few resources. A handful of well-informed "occult investigators" were available, but very few officers across the state or the nation knew about such veterans. Today, a growing number of resources are available to educate law enforcers about occult groups and activities; to introduce officers to occult-related crime; and to suggest investigative techniques that are most likely to lead to the successful arrest and prosecution of offenders. The resources presented herein were recommended directly to the author. In turn, each person and organization was contacted and agreed to be included in the final report. Inclusion or exclusion of any person or organization is neither an endorsement nor critique of services provided.

3. A series entitled *Legal Casestudies* in which the following four legal decisions regarding some aspect of occult crime are explained:

- *Legal Casestudy #1: Is Animal Sacrifice a Constitutionally-Protected Religious Ritual - The Hialeah Case*
- *Legal Casestudy #2: Admission of a Defendant's Belief in Satan - State vs. Waterhouse*
- *Legal Casestudy #3: Limits on Practicing Satanic Religions in Prison - Childs vs. Duckworth*
- *Legal Casestudy #4: A Successfully-Prosecuted Case - The State of California vs. Clifford St. Joseph*

The Human Resources

As any occult investigator, therapist, victim or informed researcher will readily admit, delving into the occult is neither adventuresome nor rewarding. It is both tedious and frustrating, fraught at every step with psychological and spiritual loopholes. It opens up a whole new world, fortunately, one into which only a few people tread and even fewer comprehend. This study is no exception; it has been hounded by all the typical and not-so-typical difficulties, and has come to fruition only because the many committed and dedicated professionals and citizens listed on the accompanying page were supportive of the Office of Criminal Justice Planning's decision to examine these crucial issues.

Foremost among the many persons responsible for the breadth and accuracy of this study were four professionals who not only contributed their expertise, but who carefully read and edited the initial drafts. OCJP and the author, Dr. Olson-Raymer, are particularly grateful to Officer Sandi Gallant of the San Francisco Police Department; Robert Hicks, Criminal Justice Analyst for the Commonwealth of Virginia's Department of Criminal Justice Services; Stephen Squire, Librarian for the Commonwealth of Virginia's Department of Criminal Justice Services; and Dr. Charles Wetli, Deputy Chief Medical Examiner, Dade County, Florida.

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Additionally, the following persons as well as several others who must remain anonymous for personal and professional reasons, devoted countless hours to this study.

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CHAPTER ONE:
DEFINING OCCULT ACTIVITY: THE HISTORICAL ROOTS AND CONTEMPORARY DIMENSIONS

Just what *is* the occult? In its very broadest sense, *occult activity involves the use or secret knowledge of actions and/or rituals connected to supernatural beliefs and/or supernatural powers.* Occult involvement with the supernatural is what clearly separates occultists' beliefs and rituals from traditional Judeo-Christian belief systems. Thus, many Americans consider occultism perverse, heretical, evil and even illegal. Most occult activities, however, are neither illegal nor evil and are, in fact, protected under the First Amendment guaranteeing Americans freedom of religious choice. What the Constitution does not protect are illegal activities conducted by occultists in conjunction with their belief system — the so-called *occult crimes* which are the subject of Chapter Two.

Legal occult activities, the subject of this chapter, are condemned largely because many, but not all, occultists practice magic. A controversial term in and of itself, *magic involves the invocation of supernatural powers to control natural forces.* The use of such power adds more fuel to the definitional controversy. Consider the following:

- Most occultists, some of whom call themselves magicians, symbolically invoke magic, or so-called *white magic*, for what they call positive means — applying a herbal cure for an ailment, invoking a spell to enhance one's ability to be a better lover or obtain a more satisfying job, or casting powers to protect the earth from harmful human intrusions. These practitioners don't actually summon supernatural powers or control natural forces, but rather use trickery to perform rites that are symbolic of wishes, concerns, or disappointments.

- A few occultists, often known as sorcerers, practice *black magic* or the dark arts. Such practitioners claim to actually invoke supernatural powers for primarily evil purposes.

- Other practitioners deplore any distinction between white and black magic. They believe that the magician "sets out to conquer the universe" thereby requiring entry into the "darkest levels of the mind." To succeed, he or she must become master of everything in the universe - evil as well as good, cruelty as well as mercy, pain as well as pleasure." (Cavendish, 1967:3.) Thus, these practitioners argue, all magic is black.

It appears that, to the *practitioner*, the type of magic practiced is largely perceptual; that is, practicing magic really involves what the practitioner believes is being invoked, be it black, white or both. To the law enforcer, however, the practitioner's perceptions are moot; he or she is involved either in legally-protected spiritual activity which is beyond the jurisdiction of the criminal justice system, or in illegal criminal activity as defined by law and clearly within the system's jurisdiction.

This chapter seeks to sort out and clarify these distinctions for the law enforcer. In so doing, it defines *occult activity* and

Occult versus Cult

Contrary to the popular equation of the terms occult and cult, they are *not* interchangeable.

Occultists use or have secret knowledge of actions and/or rituals connected to supernatural beliefs and/or supernatural powers.

Cultists espouse a religious belief system that deviates strongly from the traditional faiths accepted by society.

Religion is the differentiating factor: occultists adopt supernatural beliefs which may or may not be religious in nature, while cultists adopt specific religious belief systems. Although the nature of occultist and cultist belief systems is different, most people do not distinguish between the two *because both belief systems represent an unorthodox departure from conventional society.* This report draws a clear distinction between cult and occult activity, concentrating entirely on the latter. For further information about **cults**, contact:

American Family Foundation
P.O. Box 336
Weston, MA 02193 (617) 893-0930

Cult Awareness Network (CAN) - National Office
2421 West Pratt Blvd., Suite 1173
Chicago, IL 60645 (312) 267-7777
CAN/Los Angeles
1917 Hampton Lane
Glendale, CA 91201 (818) 845-4354

Institute for the Study of American Religion
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P.O. Box 90709
Santa Barbara, CA 93190 (805) 961-3250

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the various types of magic that are legally encompassed in such activities. Those activities that are clearly illegal in nature, *occult crime*, are the subject of the next chapter.

Types of Occult Activity

Currently, at least four types of contemporary occult-centered belief systems are practiced in the United States: Neo-Paganism, Witchcraft (or Wicca), Cultural Spiritualism and Satanism. Practitioners of each are involved in very different types of occult activities based upon very different occult-centered ideologies.

Neo-Paganism

The beliefs of today's Neo-Pagans evolved from those of the earliest primitive religions. Arising out of early man's need to understand and control nature, most primitive religions were nature-oriented. As the hunters and gatherers of early society converted to a farming economy, the spiritual beliefs of early man centered around the need to understand and respect the new farming technology. The rituals arising from such beliefs later become known as magic. The early practitioners and teachers of such magic used incantations and spells designed to help nature take a positive course in the survival and enrichment of society. Such practitioners tried to convince the gods to produce fruitful crops, provide bountiful supplies of game, heal the sick, and sometimes, make their enemies ill.

The term pagan, which is derived from the Latin *paganus* meaning a country dweller, was first applied during the Inquisition. Thereafter, Catholic inquisitors used the word Pagan to describe any opponent of Christianity. Thus, many religions which had nothing in common *except* their status as a perceived enemy of Christianity, were lumped together under one all-inclusive label: Pagan.

Today's *Neo-Pagans practice a polytheistic nature religion; that is, they worship many gods, foremost of whom are the Great Earth Mother and her consort, the Horned God, who together provide symbols of fertility and power; respect all natural objects as living entities; and participate in rituals that symbolize their understanding of and oneness with the gods and nature.* Their rituals are practiced in connection with white magic and are largely based upon three ideals: animism, pantheism, and polytheism.

> Animism, the belief that all things in nature are imbued with life, embraces an almost childlike exuberance with and participation in nature. By cherishing the life forces in all natural objects and depending on nature for sustenance, believers in animism abhor any actions that destroy the integrity of the environment.
>
> Polytheism recognizes the existence of many gods and encourages a worldview that is multiple and diverse. Polytheism is an attitude that has allowed a multitude of distinct groups to exist more or less in harmony, despite great divergence in beliefs and practices.
>
> Pantheism, the belief that the spirit of the gods are inseparable from nature, encourages Neo-Pagans to participate in divinity, or the act of being a god, "from time to time in rite and fantasy." The pantheistic philosophy implies that individuals can become gods and in so doing, become one with nature. (Adler, 1986:25.)

Neo-Pagans worship in covens usually consisting of less than 20 people, meet in natural surroundings, and participate in rituals that reflect the individual experience and needs of its members. As such, their rituals are not bound by any creed, doctrinal statements, or ceremonial requirements. Neo-Pagans celebrate eight festival days called *sabbats:* four sabbats mark the sun's extreme movements, the summer and winter solstices and the spring and fall equinoxes. The four other sabbats mark the agricultural seasons in February, May, August and November.

Witchcraft

Witches are perhaps the least understood of all persons involved in the occult. Like Neo-Pagans, Witches are often persecuted because they do not conform or are considered a threat to Judeo-Christian cultural and religious traditions. However, as a veteran Witch and law enforcement officer explains, "We Witches do not believe in the Christian God or Devil...But we are not anti-Christian; we are simply different." (Cuhulain, 1989.)

Indeed, controversy even surrounds the root of the word Witch. Some claim it stems from the Celtic word *wicce* and *wicca* meaning "wit" or "wisdom." Others cite derivations from the Sanskrit words *wic* and *weik* meaning to bend or turn. Depending upon the root structure, a Witch was either a wise person in a village with healing powers or was someone skilled in the craft of shaping, bending or changing reality. Contemporary definitions such as that in Webster's ("one that is credited with malignant supernatural powers") adds fuel to the stereotypical image of ugly, snaggle-toothed old hags who conjure up malevolent potions for malignant ends. Such an image, however, is both historically and contemporarily simplistic.

As medieval historian Jeffrey B. Russell explains, over the years, three quite different meanings have been attributed to Witchcraft: (1) The "practice of simple sorcery, the charms or spells used in many societies worldwide to accomplish such practical ends as healing a child, assuring the fertility of crops, or warding off an enemy"; (2) the Neo-Paganism movement of the late 20th Century in which small groups are involved in pagan belief systems; and (3) the diabolical Witchcraft allegedly occurring in Europe between 1400-1700 whereby Witches worshiped Satan, practiced evil sorcery and desecrated Christian symbols and rituals through the Black Mass. (Russell,1988:162.) It is this latter group, the diabolical Witches, who have been the center of historical and contemporary debates as demonstrated in *The Occult Debate, Issue #1.*

Neo-Pagan and Wiccan Resources

The following organizations provide information about the Neo-Pagan and/or Wiccan communities:

CultWatch Response, Inc.
P.O. Box 1842
Colorado Springs, CO 80901 *Gerald L. Bliss, Executive Secretary and Editor*

CultWatch Response, Inc. provides law enforcement officials with information on the Craft in the United States and Canada and seeks to help responsible people safely practice their chosen religion. *CultWatch Reponse*, the organization's journal, publishes articles that promote understanding about the Craft.

Institute for the Study of American Religion
P.O. Box 90709
Santa Barbara, California 93190 *Dr. J. Gordon Melton, Director*

Over 1,500 of the Institute's 28,000 volume collection are books, booklets, pamphlets, newspaper and magazine articles about the American and British Neo-Pagan and Wiccan movements. These documents are particularly useful to persons conducting historical and contemporary research.

Pagan Anti-Defamation League
BM Box 7097
London WCIN 3XX England *Prudence Jones and Nigel Pennick, Directors*

This British organization is dedicated to correcting misconceptions, distortions and untruths about Neo-Paganism. It provides materials and information to Neo-Pagans and the interested public from around the world upon request.

Witches' League for Public Awareness
P.O. Box 8736
Salem, MA 01971 *Laurie Cabot, President*

The non-profit WLPA informs the public and the media about Witchcraft and tries to correct misinformation about Witches. Its bi-annual newsletter, *The Quill & Sword,* contains news of WLPA activities and articles about how to correct misinformation and appropriately educate the public.

The following provide readable and useful information about Neo-Pagan and Wiccan belief systems:

Drawing Down the Moon: Witches, Druids, Goddess-Worshippers, and Other Pagans in America Today by Margot Adler. Boston: Beacon Press, 1986. Written by a well-known journalist and self-professed Pagan, this comprehensive analysis includes chapters on the history and background of Neo-Pagan and Wiccan belief systems; the contemporary American Wiccan revival; the organizational and belief systems of other contemporary Neo-Pagan groups; the writings and attitudes of historical and contemporary scholars, writers and journalists who have studied the occult; and an extensive list of resources and Neo-Pagan rituals.

Entertaining Satan: Witchcraft and the Culture of Early New England by John Putnam Demos. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982. This is probably the best-researched and most readable historical account of all the recorded Witchcraft proceedings that occurred in 17th Century New England. Dr. Demos provides careful biographical sketches of both the accused Witches and their accusers; draws a detailed picture of how the Witchcraft cases became an integral part of the Puritans' social experience; and discusses the historical "peaks and valleys" of the Witchcraft cases that cropped up during this first Century of living in the New World. Among his most important conclusions are that while there was some evidence of occultism through fortune-telling, random cursing, and minor talismanic magic, no evidence of Witchcraft as a religious conspiracy exists in the available records; and that by the 18th Century, the legal proceedings ended because relaxed community bonds no longer required a reason for Witches.

Law Enforcement Guide to Wicca by Kerr Cuhulain. Colorado Springs: CultWatch Response, Inc., 1989. The only guide of its kind currently distributed in the U.S., Cuhulain's information is particularly useful because he is both a law enforcement officer and a practicing Wiccan. The guide includes a brief description of Wiccan history; useful definitions of Wiccan symbols, rituals and terminology; helpful hints for criminal justice practitioners investigating possible occult crimes; and an extensive resource section.

While accusations of widespread Witchcraft flourished in medieval Europe and colonial America, the furor began to subside by the early 1700s. It was not until the mid-20th Century that Witches again resurfaced in American life. But the type of Witchcraft that emerged had little resemblance to the dark, Satanic practices of actual or alleged Witches of earlier history. Indeed, "there is almost no real historical connection between 16th and 17th Century Witches and the new religions associated with Witchcraft today." (Russell interview, March 17, 1989.)

Several new traditions of Witchcraft have arisen over the past decades, all of which have different roots as journalist and Neo-Pagan practitioner Margot Adler so aptly explains:

> "Different Wiccan traditions (or sects) have a different story to tell. Many will mention the work of Margaret Murray, whose *Witch-Cult in Western Europe* (1921) popularized the idea that Witchcraft is the surviving pre-Christian religion of Europe. Many will mention Charles G. Leland, whose books, written at the turn of the century, described a surviving Pagan religion in Italy, including a Witch cult that worshipped Diana, and a host of ancient Etruscan survivals. Others will mention Gerald B. Gardner, a retired British civil servant who was supposed to have been initiated into one of the surviving ancient English covens in 1939. Convinced that the Witch cult was dying from lack of knowledge about it, Gardner published some of what he had learned in a novel, *High Magic's Aid,* and after the repeal of the Witchcraft Acts in 1951, published *Witchcraft Today* and *The Meaning of Witchcraft.*" (Adler, 1986:46.)

It was Gardnerian Wicca that first came to the United States, brought by Americans Raymond and Rosemary Buckland who traveled to England to be initiated by Gardner. To Gardner, "Witchcraft was a peaceful, happy, nature religion. Witches met in covens, led by a priestess. They worshipped two principal deities, the god of forests and what lies beyond, and the great Triple Goddess of Fertility and rebirth. They met in the nude in a nine-foot circle and raised power from their bodies through dancing and chanting and meditative techniques. They focused primarily on the Goddess; they celebrated the eight ancient Pagan festivals of Europe and sought to attune themselves to Nature." (As described by Adler, 1988:62.)

The Gardnerian tradition spawned many other variations so that today, literally thousands of small, autonomous units or covens exist across the nation. In fact, according to Dr. J. Gordon Melton of the Institute for the Study of American Religion, somewhere between 30,000 and 100,000 people are active, self-identified members of the American Wiccan and/or Neo-Pagan communities. (Melton interview, March 30,1989.) Margot Adler learned more about the contemporary Witch practitioner through a survey distributed to 450 people attending three different Neo-Pagan festivals during the summer of 1985. Of the 195 respondents, half identified themselves as "basically white-collar, middle-class professionals": computer programmers, students, secretaries, counselors, teachers/professors, writers, housewives or typesetter/printers. (Adler, 1986:446.)

As Neo-Pagan writer Isaac Bonewits describes, at least four groups of people identify themselves as contemporary practitioners: classical Witches, gothic or neo-gothic Witches, feminist Witches and Pagan Witches.

> *Classical Witches*, whose ancestors were village herbalists and healers believed to have psychic or magical powers, pass their skills down through the generations in the form of oral tradition. To most classical Witches, religion is irrelevant to the practice of their skills.
>
> *Gothic or Neo-Gothic Witches*, more accurately called Satanists, represent a very small number of Witches who use the identification to oppose Christianity by performing the rituals alleged during the European Witchcraft trials.
>
> *Feminist Witches*, members of radical feminist groups who call themselves Witches because they believe the Inquisition was primarily anti-female in nature, sometimes practice magic and often identify with the Pagan Witches.
>
> *Pagan Witches or Wiccans* celebrate a particular type of Pagan religion known as Wicca or Witchcraft - the Craft of the Wise. Such Witches are also Pagans, but not all Pagans are Witches; the terms are not interchangeable. (Bonewits, 1979.)

Today's *Witches or Wiccans practice a polytheistic religion known as Witchcraft, Wicca or the Craft which involves worshiping nature deities and encouraging the practice of magic primarily for psychological and environmental purposes.* Wiccan beliefs, broadly outlined in 1974 by the now defunct Council of American Witches in the *Principles of Belief* (see accompanying box) are supplemented by the Wiccan Creed, "An Ye Harm None, Do As Ye Will" or "Do nothing that will harm another."

Much contemporary debate about Wiccan activity centers around their use of magic. The vast majority of American Witches claim that if they employ any magic at all, it is white magic which seeks changes in the mundane world primarily through healing or personal improvement, or seeks to symbollically transform the individual in some manner. As such, white magic excludes evil spells. Indeed, because Wiccans believe the effects of magic will be returned threefold upon the person working it, most Witches claim pronouncing evil spells would be contradictory to their belief system. Wiccans believe very few of their members practice black magic; those few practitioners of the black arts, generally referred to as Satanists, are denied religious or social contact with other members of the Craft.

The Wiccan faith is divided into numerous denominations known as "traditions", most of which are quite small in number. Covens, the organizational structure for group

Principles of Wiccan Belief

The Council of American Witches finds it necessary to define modern Witchcraft in terms of the American experience and needs. We are not bound by traditions from other times and other cultures, and owe no allegiance to any person or power greater than the Divinity manifest through our own being. As American Witches we welcome and respect all Life Affirming teachings and traditions and seek to learn from all and to share our learning within our Council.

It is in this spirit of welcome and cooperation that we adopt these few principles of Wiccan belief. In seeking to be inclusive, we do not wish to open ourselves to the destruction of our group by those on self-serving power trips, or to philosophies and practices contradictory to those principles. In seeking to exclude those whose ways are contradictory to ours, we do not want to deny particpation with us to any who are sincerely interested in our knowledge and beliefs, regardless or race, color, sex, age, national or cultural origins or sexual preference.

1. We practice Rites to attune ourselves with the natural rhythm of life forces marked by the Phases of the Moon and the Seasonal Quarters and Cross Quarters.

2. We recognize that our intelligence gives us a unique responsibility toward our environment. We seek to live in harmony with Nature, in ecological balance offering fulfillment to life and consciousness within an evolutionary concept.

3. We acknowledge a debt of power far greater than that apparent to the average person. Because it is far greater than ordinary, it is sometimes called "supernatural," but we see it as lying within that which is naturally potential to all.

4. We conceive of the Creative Power in the Universe as manifesting through polarity - as masculine and feminine - and that this same Creative Power lives in all people, and functions through the interaction of the masculine and feminine. We value neither above the other, knowing each to be supporting of the other. We value Sex as pleasure, as the symbol and embodiment of life, and as one of the sources of energies used in magical practice and religious worship.

5. We recognize both outer worlds and inner, or psychological, worlds - sometimes known as the Spiritual World, the Collective Unconscious, the Inner Planes, etc. - and we see in the interaction of these two dimensions the basis for paranormal phenomena and magical exercises. We neglect neither dimension for the other, seeing both as necessary for our fulfillment.

6. We do not recognize any authoritarian hierarchy, but do honor those who teach, respect those who share their greater knowledge and wisdom, and acknowledge those who have courageously given of themselves in leadership.

7. We see religion, magic, and wisdom-in-living as being united in the way one views the world and lives within it - a worldview and philosophy-of-life which we identify as Witchcraft, the Wiccan Way.

8. Calling oneself "Witch" does not make a witch - but neither does heredity itself, or the collecting of titles, degrees and initiations. A Witch seeks to control the forces within him/herself that make life possible in order to live wisely and well, without harm to others, and in harmony with Nature.

9. We acknowledge that it is the affirmation and fulfillment of life, in a continuation of evolution and development of consciousness, that gives meaning to the Universe we know, and to our personal role within it.

10. Our only animosity toward Christianity, or toward other religion or philosophy-of-life, is to the extent that its institutions have claimed to be "the only way" and have sought to deny freedom to others and to suppress other ways of religious practice and belief.

11. As American Witches, we are not threatened by debates on the history of the Craft, the origins of various aspects of different traditions. We are concerned with our present, and our future.

12. We do not accept the concept of "absolute evil," nor do we worship any entity known as "Satan" or "The Devil" as defined by the Christian tradition. We do not seek power through the suffering of others, nor do we accept the concept that personal benefit can only be derived by denial to another.

13. We acknowledge that we seek within Nature for that which is contributory to our health and well-being.

(Source: "Principles of Wiccan Belief," *Green Egg*, Vol. VII, No. 64 (August 1, 1974):32. Adopted by the Council of American Witches during its spring Witchmeet, April 11-14, 1974 in Minneapolis, Minnesota. The Council has since disbanded but many American Witches adhere to its Principles.)

worship, are composed of 5 to 50 members and are led by a Priest or Priestess (or sometimes both) who has been initiated by another Witch. When Witches meet, they generally invoke magic and worship their deities. Worship does not occur in a formal setting, although coven members may have some room or outdoor field reserved for ritual use. Wherever worship does occur, a sacred space is created by "casting a circle" inscribed on the ground or floor. (See Chapter Three

for the symbolism and ritual involved in casting a circle.) Wiccans embrace the same eight sabbat festival days celebrated by Neo-Pagans. Additionally, most groups regularly meet as close as possible to the full moon in ceremonies called "esbats" where they worship, discuss business, perform tasks such as healing, and enjoy each other's company.

Individual practice of the Craft includes mastering magic, ritual and psychic development as well as the regular worship of the Wiccan deities. As Witches practice the Craft, they pass through three degrees: the first acknowledges a full member of and initiates them into the coven; the second recognizes mastery of basic Wicca knowledge through becoming an accomplished Witch; the third degree admits one into the Priesthood. All worship, whether individual or within the coven, requires the use of at least four basic ritualistic items: the atheme, or ritual knife; the pentacle, a metal disc inscribed with magical symbols; a chalice; and a sword. Witches do not use scripture books , relying instead on oral tradition. In keeping with that tradition, Wiccans keep a book listing their rituals and working notes called the "Book of Shadows" (or a *grimoire* in certain Wiccan traditions) that is usually copied by hand from one Wiccan to the next within each tradition. These may be written in one of the old magical alphabets or in English.

Cultural Spiritualists

Cultural spiritualists are involved in syncretic belief systems, or those that combine two or more very different cultural and religious beliefs and rituals into one harmonious belief system. Thus, *cultural spiritual faiths harmoniously blend magic or supernatural rites specific to one particular culture with certain religious traditions specific to another and very different culture.* Because the religious beliefs of cultural spiritualists are deeply tied to foreign cultural roots and polytheistic religions which differ greatly from those of the American mainstream, many people fear their spiritual beliefs and often condemn their activities. Most persons involved in cultural sprirtualist faiths, however, are simply practicing a belief system that is an integral part of their historical and cultural tradition.

While many different types of cultural spiritualism are practiced in the United States, the two most often referenced in law enforcement circles are those with Afro-Caribbean roots. Such belief systems specifically evolved when African slaves were removed from their native culture and forcibly converted to a new cultural, economic, social and religious lifestyle in the Caribbean. Adherents of these faiths began their forced journeys to the United States several decades ago. Today, it is estimated that between 1 and 1.5 million people living in America practice some sort of Afro-Caribbean faith. (Paulhus interview, August 16, 1989.) The vast majority of such practitioners are involved in two belief systems: *Santeria* and *Palo Mayombe.*

Before pursuing a more detailed discussion of these two Afro-Caribbean faiths, two points must be emphasized:

- Cultural spiritualist religions other than those discussed in this study are practiced in the United States. *Brujeria*, whose roots are tied to Mexico, is commonly practiced in parts of the Southwestern United States; the accompanying box describes some of the beliefs, symbols, and ritual components practiced by American *brujos. Voudon,* practiced in parts of the American South and other localities, shares some Afro-Caribbean roots but as the accompanying box indicates, is distinct from *Santeria* and *Palo Mayombe.*

- *Santeria* and *Palo Mayombe* have not been selected for an in-depth analysis in this chapter because practitioners are more often involved in criminal activities than other cultural spiritualists. These two specific belief systems and the activities of practitioners are reviewed, however, for three reasons: the number of *santeros* and *mayomberos* is growing, making it all the more essential that their culturally distinct rituals are accurately understood by law enforcers; law enforcers increasingly assume linkages between some *Santeria* and *Palo Mayombe* rituals and criminal activity; and all too often, law enforcers incorrectly refer to practitioners of these two faiths as Satanists, lumping them into one all-inclusive Satanic category.

Santeria

Santeria, a syncretic belief system that combines the cultural and spritual beliefs of the Southwestern Nigerian Yoruba tribe with the religious practices of the Catholic faith, involves using magical rituals to propitiate or satisfy a pantheon of gods primarily for positive personal reasons of the practitioner. Like all other Afro-Carribean belief systems, *Santeria* found its way to South and North America through the system of slavery. When Yoruba slaves were first transported to Cuba in the 18th and 19th centuries, their Catholic masters forbade traditional religious practices in which many gods or *orishas* were worshipped. Prior to granting legal entry into the country, the Yoruba were forcibly baptized as Roman Catholics.

To survive, the Yoruba arrivals, called *Lucumi* (after their way of greeting each other as "oluku mi" or "my friend"), developed a new cultural/religious tradition that was "at once a resistance to Catholic oppression and an accommodation to Catholic values. It came to be called *Santeria,* the way of the saints, because the devotions to the *orishas* were carried out beneath the images of the Catholic saints." (Murphy, 1988:32.)

By the mid-18th Century, the Yoruba tradition had been successfully and secretly adapted to Cuban society and the demands of the Catholic priests; the *orishas* were carefully disguised as saints *(santos)* and honored in church and during Catholic feasts. The new syncretism, called *Santeria* or *Lucumi* in Cuba, was eventually introduced to other Latin American countries: in Brazil, it became known as *Candomble*; *Shango* in Trinidad; and *Voodun* in Haiti.

Voodoo: Another Form of Cultural Spiritualism

Rumors of *Voodoo* involvement play a significant role in American folklore, especially in the South. However, very few studies have been conducted that subject the practice of Voodoo in America to rigorous examination. As demonstrated below, what we do know are the very basics of *Voodoo* history and how it became first a Caribbean and then an American transplant.

The origins of the word *Voodoo* are not clear. Some practitioners claim French roots from the word *Veau d'or* meaning golden calf, while others point to a corruption of the West African term *Vodu* which historically has referred to various gods and spirits. The practice of what is commonly called *Voodoo* in the Caribbean and often known as *Voodoun* or *Hoodoo* in America, stemmed from the African occult religion known as *Juju* which dates back thousands of years to the *Ashanti* tribe who worshiped snakes.

African *Juju* has changed little over the centuries. The practitioner casts a good spell, a bad spell or a spell designed to protect a client from a spell already cast upon him. Some spells are benevolent, designed to help a sick person or help a person win the affection of a desired mate; others are malevolent, capable of inflicting serious injury or illness and even death on an enemy of the client. The practitioner's powers are derived from various gods who tell him what action to take under a certain set of circumstances. Powers are also obtained from herbs and *fetishes*, inanimate objects that are believed to be inhabited by a spirit "capable of having its own way unless soothed and exorcised by the proper rites" of the practitioner. (d'Argent, 1970:18-19.)

Caribbean *Voodoo* was born when members of the Ashanti tribes were transported as slaves to Haiti. As they began their assimilation process, they combined some magical rites of the African *Juju* with religious rites from the Catholic church, thereby creating a new belief system which gradually spread throughout Haiti. The Haitian form of *Voodoo* has many deities, known collectively as *loa,* who participate in ritualistic ceremonies in several different ways. Rituals are most commonly held to invoke a particular god who best fits the need of the moment. A student of *Voodoo* in Louisiana, Jacques d'Argent, describes three great rites or divisions governing Voodoo: "one is made up of good or benevolent gods, known as the *Rada.* The other two, *Congo* and *Petro,* consist of wicked or evil gods...In invoking and influencing the gods, the drum, brought with the blacks from Africa as an important part of their religion, plays an important part in the Haitian ritual...Dancing, like the drums, is an essential part of Voodoo ritual. Haitian dances are divided into sacred dances and dances of possession." (d'Argent, 1970:43-45.)

The *Voodoo* priest, or *Houngon,* is "at one and the same time priest, healer, soothsayer, exorciser, organizer of public entertainments and choirmaster." (Metraux, as quoted in d'Argent, 1970: 47.) That is, he is an influential figure in the Haitian community. He is not to be confused with a *bocor* or *boko* who practices sorcery or black magic usually condemned by the *Houngon.* It is the image of the *bocor* who usually provides the stereotypical portrayal of the *Voodoo* practitioner—the one who tortures a doll or some other effigy that represents the intended victim. His magical powers are not only used to "bring about every evil, to cause death, illness, or injury, to obtain riches, to bring bad luck to enemies or good fortune to a client," but also to invoke the *zombi* - "a corpse that has been raised from the grave to live again as a mindless slave." (d'Argent, 1970:49.) In truth, Haitian *Voodoo* is comprised of both good and evil uses of magic as utilized by the *Houngon* and the *bocor.*

Voodoo first came to the United States in 1803 when the prohibition against importing slaves from the West Indies was lifted to allow planters access to more labor. What began in Louisiana as the Haitian transplant of *Voodoo* eventually evolved into an American syncretism known as *Hoodoo.* This newer form of the ancient traditions developed differently in the United States, supplanting many of its religious aspects with more cultural and medicinal aspects. Indeed, the *Hoodoo* leader, known as a *Hoodoo-doctor,* "is a maker of medicine, a treater of ills, and perhaps a historian...he does not perform marriages, christen babies, or bury the dead. For these functions there is the ordained minister of one of the established churches. Hoodoo-doctors do conduct meetings, but never in a church or even a consecrated building as does the Haitian *Houmfort.* They prefer the outdoors, with a large tree for shelter where they can expound, undisturbed, their different theories of the supernatural in their own ways." (D'Argent, 1970:74.)

It would be incorrect to state, however, that *Hoodoo* practitioners use only white or positive magic; clearly some Hoodoo rites in various urban locations have invoked evil spirits, exacted discomforting curses, and mapped out the death of enemies. We remain uncertain about the extent to which it is practiced and the degree to which practitioners may or may not be involved in criminal activity directly connected to their belief in *Voodoo.*

It was not until the Cuban Revolution of 1959 that *Santeria* became a known element in American society. As Cubans fled their island, the initial wave of *santeros* — priests and priestesses of *Santeria* — carried their *orishas* to another new land. During the 1980 Mariel boat lift, the second wave of *Santeria* followers entered the United States. Consequently, *Santeria* practitioners have become a regular part of many urban American landscapes. It is estimated that currently as many as 2 million individuals dabble in *Santeria* in the United States and that there are as many as 75 to 100 million devout practitioners worldwide. (Erickson, 1988:13.) Indeed, significant numbers of *Santeria* followers reside in the urbanized sections of Florida, New Jersey, New York and California. Miami officials estimate that as many as 50,000 practitioners live in their city. (Paulhus seminar, August 16, 1989.)

The basic foundations of *Santeria* beliefs are described in the accompanying box. Religious participation occurs in both ceremonies and rituals whereby magical powers serve as "a functional strategy of conflict resolution, both at the individual and interpersonal levels." As such, magic "provides an outlet for repressed hostilities and offers a set of symbolic performances that lead to intrapsychic and social stability." (Martinez and Wetli, 1982:32.) While ceremonies occur with more than two persons present and are always conducted by a *santero,* rites are performed alone by an individual practitioner or in the company of an initiated *santero.*

In contemporary American society, the *Santeria* practitioner recognizes four ritualistic practices: divination, sacrifice, spirit possession and initiation.

- Divination occurs when *orishas* speak to human beings, diagnose their needs and "open their destinies to fulfillment".

- Sacrifice occurs when human beings give their *orishas* the *ashe* that is the sustenance of life.

- Spirit possession involves fully opening the channels of *ashe* when human dancers merge with divine rhythms.

- Initiation involves ceremonial rituals which show to the devotee and to the community the depth of the devotee's commitment to the *orishas* and his or her mastery of the techniques of invoking *ashe.* (Murphy, 1988:134-140.)

In essense, "*Santeria* magic functions as a supportive system that offers its members culturally meaningful symbols that contribute positively" to the life of the practitioner. (Martinez and Wetli, 1982:37.) Thus, the occult activities involved in *Santeria* are at best positive in nature and at worst, neutral. In contrast to this primarily positive magico-religious system is another Afro-Caribbean belief system, *Palo Mayombe,* where the magic is often used for evil and illegal purposes.

Palo Mayombe

Palo Mayombe is a syncretic Afro-Caribbean belief system that combines the cultural and spiritual belief systems of the ancient African Congo tribes with the religious practices of Yoruba slavers and Catholicism. It uses magical rituals that manipulate, captivate and/or control another person most often for the practitioner's malevolent purposes. Like their brothers from Nigeria, the Congo slaves were forcibly brought to the Caribbean and subsequently adapted their cultural and religious belief system to the culture and Catholic religious traditions of their new home. Through their assimilation process, the Congo slaves also incorporated some of the beliefs, symbols and rituals of *Santeria.* The result of this particular syncretism was *Palo Mayombe,* derived from the Spanish *palo* meaning "wooden stick" or "branch" and referring to the pieces of wood practitioners, the *Paleros* or *Mayomberos,* use for their magic spells.

Although the origins of the *Mayombero* and *Santero* share similar roots, it is important to note two features that distinguish the rituals and beliefs of these different and individualistic belief systems.

- First, while many *Mayomberos* were first initiated into *Santeria,* very few *Santerians* also practice *Palo Mayombe.* Florida law enforcement officials estimate no more than 10 percent of *Santeria* practitioners in their state are also involved in *Palo.* (Paulhus lecture in Cypress, CA on August 16, 1989.) Indeed, most *Santeria* practitioners fear the *Mayombero,* claiming he practices a sinister form of *Santeria* which they call *brujeria,* black magic or Witchcraft.

- Second, the rituals of *Santeria* most often focus magic on positive actions designed to improve one's personal position or please an *orisha. Palo Mayombe,* on the other hand, centers its rituals around the spirit of the dead, often using magic to inflict misfortune or death upon an enemy. In fact, the *Mayombero* does not use the *orishas* but rather invokes the evil spirit of one specific patron who resides in his *nganga,* the cauldron used during most rituals.

Practitioners perform magic by controlling the spirits who mediate good and evil in the natural world. According to Migene Gonzalez-Wippler, a *Santerian* scholar and practitioner, *Mayomberos* are divided into two distinctly different categories: those who practice benevolent or neutral magic, the *Mayomberos Christiano* (Christian Mayomberos); and those who practice malevolent magic, the *Mayomberos Judios* (Jewish Mayomberos.)

"This differentiation is made by the *paleros* because the 'Christian' cauldron in which their secrets are kept is sprinkled with holy water and the 'Jewish' one is not. To the practitioners of *Palo,* who, like the *santeros,* are steeped in Catholic tradition, anyone or anything that is not baptized is evil and does not belong to God. Be-

cause the ceremony of baptism utilizes holy water for the rejection of the devil, everything that is sprinkled with this liquid is considered by the *paleros* to be "baptized" and purified. Evil spirits are believed to be frightened away and "burned" by the touch of holy water.

The *palero* or *mayombero* who is "Christian" works with the forces of God, whom they call *Sambia,* a corruption of the Congo name for the deity *Nsambi.* The "unbaptized" or *paleros judios,* work with *Kadiempembe,* the name given to the devil by the Congos...All *paleros* work with the spirits of nature, such as trees, plants, rain, river water, and animals. "Christian" *paleros* also work with the spirits of the dead, but only with "good" spirits. "Unbaptized" *paleros* work exclusively with the spirits of suicides, criminals, and evil witches (*ndoki*). (Gonzalez-Wippler, 1989:238-239.)

Every *mayombero* must make a *nganga* or sacred cauldron with which he practices his magic. Inside are kept the various symbols of *Palo Mayombe*, including human bones, which are described in Chapter Three. The spirit of the *nganga* obeys its owner's orders which are given in a secret ceremony conducted by the *Mayombero.* The rituals stem from the *Mayombero's* belief in God, or *Sambia* who "made *menga*, blood, to give life to the first man and woman. Then, through their ears, he blew in intelligence so that they could know and understand things. He taught this first couple everything they had to know in order to survive. He also taught them how to prepare an *nganga* to work either good or bad. So, presumably, *Sambia* left this decision of choosing between good and evil to man and woman. But he reserved for himself the right to punish the practice of evil, and this practice he punishes with death, which he created to inflict on mankind for the sin of disobedience." (Gonzalez-Wippler, 1989:240-41.) *Sambia,* then, gives the *Mayombero* both permission and power to punish evil with evil. It is this power that can make *Palo Mayombe* a particularly menacing belief system if used as such by practitioners. It is, however, important to note that although the inherent evil nature of *Palo Mayombe* suggests a causal association between the belief system and crime, such a linkage has never been proven.

The Basic Foundations of *Santeria*

In *Santeria: An African Religion in America* (1988), Joseph Murphy describes the basic foundations of this belief system.

"The Yoruba call God *Olodumare,* the 'owner of all destinies'. *Olodumare* is the ultimate destiny of all creation; from him all existence comes forth, and to him it all returns...*Olodumare* is incarnated in the world as force, called *ashe. Ashe* is the blood of cosmic life, the power of *Olodumare* toward life, strength, and righteousness. *Ashe* is like a divine current that finds many conductors of greater or lesser receptivity. For the Yoruba, these channels have rhythms that can be learned and used...We can speak of three basic approaches to a highly populated spiritual world: the way of values through honoring ancestors; the way of power through relationships with spritual beings; and the way of order through divination. Values, power, order - the ways of *ashe.*

Values...*Ashe* is present in the human line of continuity with the past. Every generation owes its being to the one before it. Each provides the conditions for the generation to follow. The Yoruba venerate ancestors because they recognize that the community of the present must look to the past for moral example. The experience of the elders provides the precedents and authority for juniors to grow in *ashe.* ...

Power...Alongside the moral *ashe* of the ancestors, the Yoruba find spiritual strength in relationships with a pantheon of spiritual beings called *orishas.* The *orishas* are personifications of *ashe* that can be put at the disposal of human beings who honor them...Priests and priestesses of the *orishas* act as leaders of Yoruba worship. They undergo long and careful training in dance styles, prayer songs, and herbal healing. A priest or priestess grows in *ashe* by his or her growing confidence in the mysteries of the *orishas*....The Yoruba show their deepening relationships with their *orishas* through sacrifice, *ebo.* In gifts of animals and plants, human beings honor the *orishas* and dispose them to offer gifts in return...The *orishas* offer health, children, and wisdom; human beings render sacrifice and praise. Each needs the other...

Order...Perhaps the most reflective of the ways of *ashe* is that of *Ifa,* the path of divination. Through *Ifa* the Yoruba can discern the will of *Olodumare* in the events of the world. *Ifa* reveals that in chaos there is order, in chance destiny. *Ifa* ... requires ten to fifteen years of arduous training to learn, and masters of the art are called *babalawos,* "the fathers of the mystery." They are perhaps the most respected of all Yoruba priests, and the mystery they can reveal is *Olodumare's* destiny for all beings, human and *orisha*...*Babalawos* are generally senior men whose beaded jewelry and tools mark them as high priests. They sit flat on the ground with legs outstretched, their tools before them. Querents approach, asking the *babalawo* to consult *Ifa* in order to learn the will of *Olodumare* as it touches their particular problem. Any problem great or small may propel Yoruba to a *babalawo:* failures in conception, a lost lover, persistent bad luck, an upcoming journey. Through *Ifa,* the *babalawo* will give the querent a formula for action to meet and resolve the problem in the light of the will of *Olodumare*....

Brujeria

Brujeria, the practice of Witchcraft that has distinctly Mexican cultural and religious roots, involves the use of magic to appease and control the gods/spirits specific to the *Brujeria* religion. As such, *Brujeria* combines many cultural and ritualistic traditions of ancient Aztec myths, European Witchcraft and Cuban *Santeria* with the religious traditions of the Catholic faith. The roots of this syncretic belief system can be traced to the mid-16th Century when Mexican religious legend asserts the Virgin Mary appeared to an Indian convert and informed him that she wanted a church constructed on the spot. Subsequently, the Shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe was built.

The Aztecs, who for many centuries had worshipped the Pagan goddess *Tonantzin,* almost immediately disguised their goddess in the safety of Guadalupe, and in the process, took the first step in creating *Brujeria.* When the Spanish priest baptized *Tonantzin* a Roman Catholic and demanded Aztec allegiance, the *padres* were unaware that theyhad helped preserve the very Paganism they had hoped to destroy. "By Christianizing Toantzin, they'd made it safe for nominally Catholic Indians to venerate her, with the provision that they call her *Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe* and attend Mass regularly." Subsequently, the former priestesses of *Tonantzin* went underground, becoming "*brujas* whose native magic lay hidden under a thick veneer of popular Catholicism." (Devine, 1982:2.) *Brujeria* was born. Researcher, Mary Virginia Devine, provides an illustration of how the *brujas* adapted to each culture with which they came into contact:

> "The conversion of the northern tribes to Catholicism not only gave the *brujas* more clients, but also exposed them to the herbal lore of the Yaqui *curanderas,* thus helping revive the almost forgotten Aztec tradition of medicine. Contact with urban *Latinos* added European ceremonial magic...to their system. And when the *brujas* left their homeland to settle in America's inner cities, they found a treasure trove of black folklore, *hoodoo* and *voodoo,* which they promptly incorporated into their teachings. By the nineteen-fifties, *brujeria* had taken root in Chicano communities from Los Angeles to New York and from Tulsa to Detroit." (Devine, 1982:5.)

In contemporary America, *brujas* practice a magico-religious system. Its religious nature centers around Guadalupe; the *bruja* (priestess) is her representative on earth. *Brujas* worship Her as an all-knowing and all-powerful goddess who grants believers every wish when propitiated according to the rituals of *Brujeria.* Such rituals constitute the magical nature of the belief system. The female *bruja,* usually working within the safety and serenity of her own home, conducts the rituals and rites of the faith as she sees fit.

Brujeria adherents who wish to use the *brujas'* services approach her with a particular problem and entrust her to create a spell to eradicate the problem. Her spell will involve divination techniques, and in some cases, using the Tarot cards and, increasingly more often in the United States, astrological signs. In essence, the *brujas'* services are enlisted to extinguish the deeds of two spirits: the *elementales* and the *diablera.* The *elementales,* nature spirits who cause problems "because their stupidity leaves them open to exploitation by devils," are of four types: gnomes (earth); undines (water); sylphs (air), and salamanders (fire). (Devine, 1982:81.) The *bruja* evokes a spell to make the particular *elementales* depart or, in the most serious cases when the spirit is working directly for the devil, to kill the *elementales.* The *diablera,* the evil spirit who is directly under Satan's employ, is the *brujas'* primary enemy. *Diableras* encourage promiscuity and homosexuality, inflict disease on people, and cast evil spells on good people. It is the *brujas'* task to cast a spell to undo the *diablera's* hex.

The *brujas'* magical instruments and tools are very basic, originally designed for easy disguise upon a surprise visit from the Catholic priest. The new necessary instruments are the *cuchillo,* a plain knife, and the wand which is most commonly a recently-cut tree branch. The *brujas'* altar usually consists of a dresser upon which a white cloth is spread and several tools are placed: two long white candles and a candle holder; a votive candle; glass for holy water; incense; and a statue of Guadalupe. The *brujas'* spells are kept in a *Libreta,* similar to a *Book of Shadows,* in which all their individual and collective secrets are written. Like Wiccan practitioners, *brujas* do not share their spell books. Most are written in non-academic Colonial Spanish or in a "Tex-Mex dialect which borrows from American English." (Devine, 1982:211.)

Most brujas are solo practitioners; however, many meet for spiritual worship and a few practice together. The organizational structure of such groups, drawing heavily from the Witchcraft tradition, consists of covens or *confradias* of thirteen or less. Wearing white cotton robes tied with white silk ribbon or a cord and a silver metal of Guadalupe, *brujas* gather for several ceremonies during which they pray to Guadalupe that their powers will be great and strong. They usually meet for thirteen New Moon Ceremonies and several of the Wiccan sabbats.

Cultural Spiritual Resources

The following persons have a great deal of expertise about some or all aspects of cultural spiritualism:

Randy Cerney, Deputy Sheriff, Stanislaus County Sheriff's Department and *Nancy Powell, Senior Probation Officer, Stanislaus County* are co-directors of Central Valley Consultants, P.O. Box 128, Modesto, CA 95357 (209) 575-5530. As individuals and as a consulting team, both are familar with the cultural spiritual beliefs most common in California's Central Valley.

Sgt. Tony Coultress, San Joaquin County Sheriff's Department, Investigations Division, P.O. Box 201058, Stockton, CA 95201 (209) 944-2581. Sgt. Coultress has investigated several homicides with links to*Santeria.*

Raphael Martinez, Anthropologist, Office of Rehabilitative Services, 111 N.W. First Street, Suite 2150, Miami, FL 33128 (305) 375-5750. A trained anthropologist of Cuban-American descent, Mr. Martinez is a particularly good resource for the Spanish-speaking investigator who needs information about *Santeria* and *Palo Mayombe* currently unaccessible to the non-Spanish reading public.

Detective Patrick Metoyer, Los Angeles Police Department, Criminal Conspiracy Section, 150 N. Los Angeles Street, Los Angeles, CA 90012 (213) 485-2962. Detective Metoyer is LAPD's resident expert on the criminal manifestations of Afro-Caribbean belief systems within the City of Los Angeles.

Marc Paulhus, Director, Humane Society of the United States, Southeast Regional Office, 325 John Knox Road, Building F, Suite 228, Tallahassee, FL 32303 (904) 386-3435. Mr. Paulhus is particularly knowledgeable about animal sacrifice and the religious symbolism contained therein.

Sgt. Richard Valdemar, Los Angeles Sheriff's Department, 11515 Colima Road, Whittier , CA 90604 (213) 946-7131. Sgt. Valdemar is one of LASD's most knowledgeable officers about Afro-Caribbean belief systems.

Charles Wetli, M.D., Deputy Chief Medical Examiner, Medical Examiner Department, #1 on Bob Hope Road, Miami, Florida 33136-1133 (305) 545-2430. Dr. Wetli has developed a great deal of expertise about *Santeria, Palo Mayombe* and *Voodoo* that is particularly applicable to law enforcement investigative needs.

The following are among the best written materials for criminal justice practitioners seeking a more detailed knowledge of specific cultural spiritual belief systems:

"Brujeria: Manifestations of Palo Mayombe in South Florida," *Journal of Florida Medical Association,* by Charles Wetli and Raphael Martinez. (August 1983). This concise, easy-to-read analysis of *Palo Mayombe* and its comparisons with *Santeria* is still the best English-written document available. For a reprint copy, contact Dr. Wetli at the above address.

Rituals and Spells of Santeria by Migene Gonzalez-Wippler. New York: Originial Publications, 1984. Gonzalez-Wippler, an accomplished folkloric scholar and practitioner of *Santeria,* provides a description of rituals and spells, many of which have never before been described to those outside the faith. The book is particularly useful to those interested in learning the signs and symbols involved in *Santeria* rituals.

Santeria: An African Religion in America by Joseph M. Murphy. Boston: Beacon Press, 1988. This scholarly account of *Santeria* provides a comprehensive picture of its African and Cuban roots as well as its contemporary practice in Cuba and the United States. Murphy's description of the *Santeria* belief system is both complete and easily understood. Chapter Three on *The Botanica* is especially useful for those interested in symbols and tools.

Santeria: The Religion by Migene Gonzalez-Wippler. New York: Harmony Books, 1989. The newest of the books on *Santeria,* Gonzalez-Wippler's account is perhaps the most definitive book on the topic. If you can read only one book on *Santeria,* this would be your best choice.

The Santeria Experience by Migene Gonzalez-Wippler. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey. Prentice-Hall, 1982. This book chronicled Gonzalez-Wippler's personal introduction and lifetime experience with *Santeria.* Such a perspective not only makes this book especially easy and enjoyable to read, but it provides a geat deal of essential information about the background, spells, ceremonies and initiation into *Santeria.*

Satanism

While many people are ignorant about and sometimes fearful of the occult-related activities associated with Paganism, Witchcraft and Cultural Spiritualism, such fear cannot match the horrific images attached to Satanism. The very idea that one can *worship* Satan is diametrically opposed to the Judeo-Christian religious background of most Americans. Such fear makes it all the more important that those in law enforcement understand the belief systems, activities, and symbolism of yesterday's and today's practicing Satanists.

Ironically, the initial use of the words Satan and Devil were not connected with evil. Satan obtained his name from the Hebrew word *satan* meaning "adversary", "obstacle", "opponent", or "one who obstructs". Similarly, the word devil is derived from the Greek *diabolos* meaning "slanderer", "perjuror", or "adversary". Despite the earlier use of both words, the idea of Satan as an evil force in nature did not appear until the Sixth Century B.C. At that time, the teachings of the prophet Zoroaster spread throughout Persia, creating one of the earliest monotheistic religions. Zoroastrianism was the first religion to espouse the absolute principle of evil, teaching that two forces in the universe were in an eternal battle: the Principle of Light, Ahura Mazda, who was the source of all good; and the Principle of Darkness, Angra Mainyu, the source of all evil. Both forces were locked into continual battle, attempting to destroy each other, until the coming of the Judgment when the forces of Light would triumph. Thus, Zoroastrianism became the first of the only four world religions that "have had a real devil." (Russell, 1988:4.)

The ancient Hebrews were the second religion to embrace the modern concept of Satan. After the Hebrews were conquered in 586 B.C., they were expelled from Jerusalem and deported to Babylonia. When Babylonia fell to Cyrus the Great of Persia in 538 B.C., the evolving Hebrew faith was exposed to Zoroastrianism. Previously, Satan had maintained a religious role derivative from the name: Satan was an "accuser" who accused men before God, exposed their infidelity and then helped God bring about their punishment. (Lyons, 1988:22.) God was responsible for both good and evil.

Zoroastrian influences, however, drastically changed the Hebrew faith when "the Jewish Sheol, once a place of eternal

The Church of Satan

As of this writing, only two known organized Satanic churches with notable memberships exist in the United States. The Church of Satan, with a membership rumored to be somewhere between 1,000 and 2,000, is the most well-known. On May Eve 1966, the Church of Satan's founder, Anton LaVey announced the year 1 S.A. (*anno Satanas.*) During its first years, membership grew rapidly although active members never numbered more than 2,000. By the early 1970s, the Church of Satan had established groups around the United States. In the mid-1970s, disagreements led to many withdrawals and expulsions of leaders, some of whom founded other Satanic groups. As the number of groups associated with the Church of Satan continued to decline in the late 1970s, La Vey became reclusive. He continues to run The Church of Satan from his home in San Francisco where all potential members and charters of other congregations (grottos) are accepted or rejected. The Church does not proselytize, but welcomes inquiries from potential Satanists who are, in turn, carefully screened prior to acceptance.

The Satanist views the self as the highest embodiment of human life. Thus, the Church of Satan promotes the development of strong individuals who seek the greatest gratification from life and practice selfish virtues as long as they harm no other. Worship is based upon the belief that man needs ritual, dogma, fantasy and enchantment. Services consist of magical rituals of three kinds: sexual rituals to fulfill a desire; compassionate rituals to help another person; and destructive rituals used for anger, annoyance or hate. Ritual tools include a black robe, altar, the symbol of Baphomet (Satan), candles, a bell, a chalice, a sword, a model phallus, a gong, parchment and some kind of elixer or drink. The highest holiday is one's own birthday; other holidays include the eight ceremonial days enjoyed by the Pagan religions.

The Church's perspective is summarized in the nine Satanic Statements found in La Vey's first book, *The Satanic Bible:*

1. Satan represents indulgence, instead of abstinence!
2. Satan represents vital existence, instead of spiritual pipe dreams!
3. Satan represents undefiled wisdom, instead of hypocritical self-deceit!
4. Satan represents kindness to those who deserve it, instead of love wasted on ingrates!
5. Satan represents vengeance, instead of turning the other cheek!
6. Satan represents responsibility to the responsible, instead of concern for psychic vampires!
7. Satan represents man as just another animal, sometimes better, more often worse than those that walk on all fours, who because of his divine spiritual and intellectual development has become the most vicious animal of all!
8. Satan represents all of the so-called sins, as they lead to physical or mental gratification!
9. Satan has been the best friend the church has ever had, as he has kept it in business all these years!

peace and sleep, was transformed into hell, a place of damnation and punishment for the wicked. The serpent that tempted Eve became Satan in disguise, and the Devil became the originator of all evil, the author of death..." (Lyons, 1988:22.)

For centuries, the Hebrews believed in two personified and conflicting forces of good and evil. Modern Judaism, however, rejects the concept of a "personified being leading the forces of evil" and, instead, teaches evil is the result of the imperfect state of the created world and from "human misuse of free will." (Russell, 1988:51.) In contemporary society, only two world religions still believe in the personified struggle for power between God and Satan: Christianity and Islam.

For approximately the first 800 years of Christianity, Satan served a role similar to that in early Hebrew theology: he was primarily the temptation who led men astray in order to exact their punishment. In essence, because the early Christians were constantly under seige from external forces, they were too busy to worry about any internal threats conveyed by a totally evil Satanic force. Once Christianity gained power and influence throughout Europe and Christians became aware of the vast influence primitive religions played in society , they embarked upon a crusade to convert all non-believers. Despite several centuries of missionary work, the Christians were dismayed to find that many people as well as converts still held onto the beliefs of their nature-oriented, polytheistic religions.

Clearly, something evil was in their midst and that something took on the personage of Satan. Thereafter, the Satan of the New Testament, a creature of God believed to be a fallen angel committed to exacting evil powers, acted as an opposite principle to God. Fear of Satan's power in European communities reached previously unknown heights during the Inquisition with rumors that avowed Satanists, who were then known as Witches, practiced a blasphemous black mass and other activities described in *The Occult Debate, Issue #1.*

Fear of Satan's power subsided for almost 200 years until novelist J.K. Huysmans wrote a fictional account of his attendance at a black mass in Paris during which the congregation met secretly:

> "in a darkened room decorated luridly with black, flickering candles. The canon, who wears the cross tattooed on the soles of his feet so as to tread upon the Savior with every step, feeds consecrated hosts to mice and mixes excrement with the sacrament. While incense smoulders, drugs are handed round, the Devil is invoked, and a hymn to Satan is intoned. A long litany of blasphemies and insults to Christ is read out, with choirboys singing the responses. The drugged congregation howls and rolls on the floor. The priest sexually abuses the host at the altar, and women come forward to eat of it while men violate the choirboys." (As described in Russell, 1988:237.)

And what about Satanism in the New World? Satanic researcher Arthur Lyons emphasizes that Satanism as defined by actual Satanic worship has never been proven to exist in any organized form in early America. Most accounts of Satanism in pre-twentieth century America were "either wild-eyed narratives by writers wishing to make a splash in literary circles, or vicious attacks by terrified, superstitious individuals, seeking a scapegoat for their own personal misfortunes." (Lyons, 1970:101.)

Aleister Crowley - A Brief Biography

Born in 1875 into a wealthy and religious British family, Aleister Crowley eventually became known as one of the world's most masterful magicians. In 1898, Crowley joined the occult-oriented Order of the Golden Dawn. As one of its prominent members described the Order, its purpose was to study "the intelligent forces behind Nature, the Constitution of man and his relation to God" in order that man "may ultimately regain union with the Divine Man latent in himself." (Mathers, 1887.)

Crowley was expelled from the Order after an unsuccessful attempt to take over the leadership and eventually joined the secret German occult society, Order Templi Orientis (OTO). In 1920 he went to Sicily to create the Sacred Abbey of Thelema where he and his few initiates engaged in controversial rites and orgies that eventually led to his expulsion from Italy in 1923. He spent the rest of his life wandering throughout England and Europe, during which many of his famous magical writings were published.

Temple of Set

Founded in 1975 by a dissident member of the Church of Satan, Michael Aquino, the Temple of Set is the second largest of all contemporary organized Satanic churches. The Temple of Set is a religious society dedicated to Set, the ancient Egyptian god believed by some to be the model for the Christian Satan. Aquino's many writings, especially *The Book of Coming Forth by Night*, develops a sophisticated form of Satanism far beyond that of LaVey's Church. Among its teachings is the belief that Judeo-Christian religions have established Satan as a "straw man" to justify their guilt for man's ejection from the Garden of Eden. Not much more is known about Setians as the society is secret and most of its writings are not available to the public at large.

During its first decade, over 500 members throughout the U.S. embraced the Setian belief system. In late 1986, Aquino claimed that about 1,000 members were still involved. Most group activities are irregular, teaching occurs through personal tutoring and correspondence, and almost all magical work is performed in private.

Indeed, the first several centuries of American history are repleat with accusations but no proof of Satanic involvement. Among the first to be accused were the American Indians whom many frontierspeople and colonists claimed worshipped Satan. American folklore provides abundant stories about Indians and other non-Christians accused of worshipping Satan in 18th and 19th Century America. In the 19th Century, both the newly-emerging Mormon religion and Catholicism were often labeled as dangerous Satanic-inspired groups. Thus, while early America was relatively free of individuals and groups who *actually worshipped* Satan, the growing nation was not free of the *fear* and *perceptions* that devil-worshipping groups existed.

The first well-publicized episode in the history of American Satanism was largely prompted by two books published in the late nineteenth century: *The Devil in the 19th Century* written by the Parisian Dr. Bataille portrayed the rites of Freemasons headquartered in Charleston, South Carolina as diabolical in both theory and practice. His account accused Freemasons of practicing black masses throughout the world and of hooking up a Charleston telephone line to hell in which the leaders spoke directly to Satan; *Memoirs of an ex-Palladist* by avowed "Satanist" Diana Vaughan lent more fuel to the fire when the author described her role as a high priestess for Satan in the Charleston Freemasonry group.

While America's first twentieth century interest in Satanism is often attributed to Aleister Crowley, many others who have studied Crowley's life and beliefs dispute both his interest in and practice of Satanism. In fact, although Crowley referred to himself as "666", he was not responsible for any revived or new interest in organized Satanic activity. It was not until the late 1960s that Satanism as a formal belief system became a well-known element in American society. It was a former circus trainer, Anton Szandor LaVey, not Crowley, who promoted interest in Satan when in 1966 he founded The Church of Satan in San Francisco. LaVey's Church was an innovative, new type of religious movement, and one that historian Jeffrey Russell assures us, has "almost no real historical connection with past groups." (Russell interview, March 17, 1989.) Indeed, although small numbers of Satanic covens had practiced their magic and secretly worshipped the Devil over the past several decades, what LaVey offered was a whole new approach based upon three radical innovations: his followers blasphemously formed an actual "church"; members publicly announced their devotion to Satan and to Satanic rituals; and Satanic believers had a prescribed, written theology to follow when the *Satanic Bible* was published in 1968.

Largely spurred by "the need for pseudo-religions to fill the void created by the disappearance of traditional religions", contemporary Satanists adhere to belief systems and rituals virtually unknown in the past. (Russell, 1988:261.) Speaking broadly, today's *Satanists believe Satan will bring them personal power over oneself, others and the external environment and, in turn, such power will permit them to live by whatever moral and ethical codes one wishes to adopt.* Contrary to popular belief, most Satanists share only one commonality — they worship the Christian Devil in some manner. The actual belief systems and rituals devoted to such worship vary greatly within each Satanic group and often with each individual practitioner. Currently, criminal justice practitioners recognize at least four types of practicing Satanists: religious Satanists, self-styled Satanists, Youth Subculture Satanists, and traditional or cult Satanists.

Religious Satanists

Religious Satanists belong to organized and legal Satanic churches whose members advocate egotism, indulgence and the acquisition and use of personal and political power. Members, says Satanic scholar Arthur Lyons, adopt "an unorthodox theological reconstruction of the Devil quite different from that of Christianity. Satan is perceived not as evil, but a a Miltonian symbol of man's carnality and rationality." (Lyons, 1988:12.) Currently, at least two formal Satanic churches provide services to their small congregations: the Church of Satan founded in 1966 by Anton Szandor LaVey and the Temple of Set founded in 1974 by a dissident member of LaVey's flock, Michael Aquino. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, several smaller splinter groups formed, but today most of these are defunct. The majority of groups knowledgable about Satanic activity and many members of the law enforcement community claim religious Satanists are generally law-abiding citizens whose religious preferences rarely bring them to the attention of criminal justice officials.

Self-Styled Satanists

Self-styled Satanists or dabblers are young adults and adults who are individually involved or belong to small, loosely-organized groups that invoke some type of Satanic rituals. Their rituals usually involve "some sort of wish fulfullment, such as the acquisition of money, popularity, romance, or sex." (Lyons, 1988:11.) Self-styled Satanists often have but a transitory interest in Satanism which lasts "only as long as it takes this person to realize that Satan is not going to make his or her dreams come true." (Lyons, 1988:12.)

Youth Subculture Satanists

Youth Subculture Satanists are adolescents who, often because of many emotional, behavioral and/or familial problems, seek power and control over their lives by creating their own rules, values, dress, language and heroes through a Satanic subculture. Like their adult self-styled counterparts, Youth Subculture Satanists act individually or belong to small, loosely-organized groups that use some type of Satanic ritual. Many law enforcers and therapists currently believe this type of youth is more at-risk for serious criminal involvement than any other occult category discussed in this study. Currently, a great deal of controversy exists within law enforcement and therapeutic circles about the various factors that lead to youthful involvement in Satanic activity. *The Occult Debate, Issue #2* addresses the specifics of that controversy.

Traditional or Cult Satanists

Traditional Satanists worship Satan as the Evil One described in the New Testament. They are involved in underground ritualistic activity, some of which involves the repeated performance of abusive Satanic rituals primarily on young children. Such Satanists are involved in deviant as well as criminal acts associated with the practice of their religion, most notably drinking blood, eating feces, witnessing animal and human sacrifice and eating the flesh of sacrificed humans, particularly infants. Because by their very definition, cult Satanists are involved in criminal activity directly related to their belief system, they are discussed in more detail in Chapter 2 which deals specifically with occult crime.

Reasons for Involvement in Occult Activity

The above clearly demonstrates that the occult is many different things to many different people. Indeed, people of every cultural, religious, ethnic and socio-economic background are involved in a wide variety of contemporary occult activities. Many reasons for involvement have been posited:

1. Traditional religions fail to meet the personal needs of many contemporary Americans. For those who have lost traditional ties to religion, belief in occult phenomenon can provide a new feeling of importance and power as well as an attractive alternative belief system to Christianity; instead of all the "don'ts" in the Christian Bible, alternative beliefs in some occult philosophies give people permission to do whatever they want — to explore limitless pleasures and live by whatever rules they please.

2. Some families have ties to occult belief systems which they pass down from generation to generation. Some children are either born into and/or raised in certain occult belief systems.

3. Occult belief systems often provide feelings of power and control. Many occult belief systems emphasize that followers may experience power over oneself, others and the external environment. Such power can, according to some occult belief systems, provide a license to be involved in actions usually condemned by mainstream society. In other words, it provides a perfect avenue for rebelliousness as well as criminality.

A Participant-Observer's Look at The Church of Satan

In the late 1960s, Edward J. Moody joined The Church of Satan, becoming "an active member of the group, a participant-observer in the anthropological sense of the term, taking part in all aspects of the religion." Following is his account of why some people turn to The Church of Satan and to other occult activity.

"The various individuals who are members of the Satanic cult exhibit behaviors which are at variance with cultural norms. They suffer aversive consequences as a result of this behavior: rejection, social failure, punishment, etc., and learn to perceive themselves as inadequate and powerless, unable to accomplish what they desire...They are people troubled by a lack of self-esteem, by failure and doubt...As such, the would-be Satanist expresses his problem in terms of lack of power.

His anxiety must be lowered, his maladaptive responses extinguished, and appropriate responses conditioned. This is all accomplished primarily through the ritual of the Satanic Church...The would-be Satanist asks, 'Is there a secret to success?' Anton LaVey, High Priest and sorcerer, responds, 'Of course, magic.' The pre-Satanist asks, 'Will you teach me?' LaVey replies, 'If you are worthy.' When after a series of tests and interviews the pre-Satanist is asked to become a member of the elite Inner Circle, his low opinion of himself is already slightly altered and, with social support of his new friends, his anxiety begins to diminish.

In addition to teaching the novice Satanist magic, his fellow magicians teach him that he is 'evil,' but the definition of evil is changed. In some cases the new Satanist has harbored a nagging belief that he is evil - his deviant behavior is usually at odds with some aspect of the Judeo-Christian tradition in which most of us were raised - but his fears are at last out in the open. He is actively encouraged to speak of his evil (deviant) thoughts and deeds and lauded instead of reviled for them...The Satanists persuade their adherents that the Judeo-Christian value system was a trick perpetrated on our forefathers. It is the position of the Satanic Church that the 'white light magicians' (Christians) made sins of natural human impulses in order to be sure that people would transgress. They then, by making salvation dependent on belief in Christianity, 'hooked' the population and made them dependent on the Christian church for freedom from fear. The Satanists, by contrast, persuade their new members to revel in their own humanity, to give free reign to their natural impulses and indulge their appetites without fear or guilt. Members are constantly reminded that man is a human *animal* and members are encouraged to throw off the shackles of Christianity and rediscover the joy of living. 'Evil' is redefined as human, free, unafraid, and joyful..." *(Edward J. Moody, "Magical Therapy: An Anthropological Investigation of Contemporary Satanism." In Irving I. Zaretsky and Mark P. Leone (eds.), Religious Movements in Contemporary America. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1974.)*

4. The production, sales and distribution of occult reading materials and paraphernalia is extremely profitable. *The Satanic Bible* currently remains a best-selling item in many bookstores; *botanicas* annually sell billions of dollars of paraphernalia to practitioners of various Afro-Caribbean belief systems; some practitioners charge handsomely to propitiate the gods or to cast a spell; books on historical and contemporary Paganism and Witchcraft have never been more popular; mail order catalogues advertise abundant and expensive occult paraphernalia; and the entertainment industry continues to make phenomenal profits on motion pictures, videos and music that promote occult themes.

5. Occult groups, usually small and intimate in nature, provide feelings of acceptance, personal empowerment and mysticism. Such camaraderie is very attractive to an individual who has felt rejection from larger society or who has never been appropriately socialized. The accompanying box provides an excellent example of how the Church of Satan strives to provide just that sort of comfort level for its initiates.

6. For young people, alternative Satanic subcultures offering non-traditional belief systems provide the things adolescents most desire: a sense of belonging; a belief that they are "worth something"; and the need to "be somebody." Particularly "at-risk" are youth from middle to upper class families who are intelligent but underachieve; curious beyond normal bounds of curiosity; alienated from family and/or religion; have weak support systems; low self esteem; difficulty relating to peers; and have borderline or sociopathic personalities.

Thus, involvement in occult activity can be motivated by familial, social, psychological, spiritual, or economic factors, or a combination of all five.

Summary

Currently, at least four types of contemporary American occult ideologies exist, each of which promote very different types of occult activities based upon very different occult-centered philosophies: Neo-Paganism, Witchcraft, Cultural Spiritualism and Satanism.

Neo-Pagans practice a polytheistic nature religion; respect all natural objects as living entities; and participate in rituals that symbolize their understanding of and oneness with the gods and nature.

Witches or Wiccans practice a polytheistic religion known as Witchcraft, Wicca or the Craft which involves worshiping nature deities and encouraging the practice of magic primarily for psychological and environmental purposes.

Cultural spiritual faiths harmoniously blend magic or supernatural rites specific to one particular culture with certain religious traditions specific to another and very different culture.

Santeria, a syncretic belief system that combines the cultural and spiritual beliefs of the Southwestern Nigerian Yoruba tribe with the religious practices of the Catholic faith, involves using magical rituals to propitiate or satisfy a pantheon of gods primarily for positive personal reasons of the practitioner.

Palo Mayombe is a syncretic Afro-Caribbean belief system that combines the cultural and spiritual belief systems of the ancient African Congo tribes with the religious practices of Yoruba slaves and Catholicism. It uses magical rituals that manipulate, captivate and/or control another person most often for the practitioner's malevolent purposes.

Satanists believe Satan will bring them personal power over oneself, others and the external environment and, in turn, such power will permit them to live by whatever moral and ethical codes one wishes to adopt.

While it is unknown how many occultists currently practice their diverse faiths, many assume the number ranges somewhere between one and three million. The two largest occult communities are believed to be Pagans and/or Wiccans with somewhere between 50,000 and 100,000 adherents and practitioners of *Santeria* and *Palo Mayombe* which number as high as 1.5 million. Currently, there are no known or reliable estimates of Satanists.

The diverse activities of occult practitioners preclude much similarity. Indeed, occultists share only two things in common: they all adhere to belief systems that radically differ from the Judeo-Christian tradition of most Americans; and such alternative beliefs often target them for persecution.

In short, *they are different.* And because they are different, it is paramount that law enforcers understand:

- the ideologies and practices that separate occultists from the mainstream; and
- whether such differences specifically target occultists for *protection* or for *prosecution.*

Protection or prosecution, then, is the deciding factor for the law enforcer. Protection enters into the officer's jurisdiction when some group(s) find occult belief systems so frightening, loathsome, irreligious or threatening to their particular belief system and/or lifestyle that they persecute occultists and/or seek to have them stripped of their constitutional rights. Prosecution becomes the officer's goal only when occultists commit *criminal* actions.

As the next chapter indicates, for some criminally inclined individuals and true occult believers, crime can be both the end and the means for occult involvement. These are the people who cross over the line between involvement in *lawful occult activities* with First Amendment protections and involvement in *illegal occult activity,* or occult crime.

The Occult Debate
Issue #1: Historical Depictions of Witchcraft and Satanism - Reality or Myth?

The historical prevalence of Witchcraft in Europe and America is still debated in many circles. On the one hand, believers in the reality theory assert that in Europe between 1400 and 1700, a highly-organized and widespread type of diabolical Witchcraft was practiced. On the other hand, advocates of the myth theory argue that between 1400 and 1700, many Europeans refused to abandon their nature-oriented primitive religions in favor of Christianity; such persons were falsely labeled and subsequently prosecuted as Satanic Witches.

***Hypothesis:* A widespread and dangerous kind of Witchcraft was practiced in 14th through 17th Century Europe and in 17th Century New England. At the very time it was eradicated in Europe, a similar form of Witchcraft crept into and infiltrated Colonial America. These practices were eradicated by dedicated, God-fearing Colonists who brought the accused to trial and helped convict them.**

Proponents believe that by the 16th Century, Witches had literally invaded Europe. Such Witches flew to their secret, nocturnal destinations; made a pact with Satan; formally repudiated Christianity; desecrated the Eucharist and crucifix; participated in sexual orgies; sacrificed infants; and practiced cannabalism. These anti-Christian practices threatened the growth and practice of Christianity throughout Europe. Thus, Witches became known as heretics and the practice of Witchcraft became a crime against the Church. Witchcraft subsequently came under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction and authority of the Inquisitors who located Witches, obtained confessions, and secured sentences that eventually rid European society of the Satanic threat.

By the 17th Century, proponents further believe, while heretical Witchcraft had been eradicated by the European ecclesiastical courts, it had become an official, fully public affair in colonial America. In 1636, Plymouth became the first colony to make Witchcraft a capital crime and all the New England colonies followed suit within decades of arrival. Witchcraft accusations were so prevalent in colonial New England that by the end of the 17th Century, 234 "cases" involved indictments and/or filed complaints and 36 "Witches" were executed. When compared on a per capita basis with both the cases and executions occurring in England during the same time period, colonial Americans were at least as active as their English counterparts in finding and prosecuting Witches. Rigorous Colonial prosecution of these offenders helped eradicate Witchcraft and the need for further trials by 1700.

***Hypothesis*: Persons prosecuted and tried for Witchcraft both in Europe and Colonial America were unjustly accused and punished; the vast majority were simply practitioners of primitive religions, subsequently labeled as Pagans by the Christians, who had refused to convert to Christianity.**

Advocates do not refute that the medieval attrocities attributed to European Witches, including devil worship, probably occurred, "but not in any organized form and with no widespread following." (Russell interview, March 17, 1989.) These proponents see the Inquisition's four centuries as a tragic, paranoid fantasy conjured by the Inquisitors who were frustrated with their failure to convert Europeans to Christiantiy and, therefore, came to believe such people represented a real threat to Christianity. (Cohn, 1975: 125.)

A rough composite of the accused New England Witch found similar non-acceptance of early American religious and societal standards. The typical accused Puritan Witch was female, middle aged and married but with few or no children; was frequently involved in trouble and conflict with other family members; was previously accused of committing crimes, especially theft and certain forms of assaultive speech; was more likely than the general population to have professed and practiced a medical vocation on a local and informal basis; was of relatively low social position; was cantankerous and demanding; and was often considered a bad neighbor. In short, she was "abrasive in style, contentious in character - and stubbornly resilient in the face of adversity." (Demos, 1982:93-94.)

Her accusers were frustrated with their inability to forceably integrate such individualistic, aggressive personalities into Colonial society. Puritan accusers were uncomfortable with the assertive, aggressive traits of such a neighbor , fearing "similar tendencies in themselves - their whole assertive side." (Demos, 1982:214.) Similarly, Salem 's accusers were insecure; many were traditional farmers from the *village* of Salem who felt economically, socially and geographically threatened by the modern capitalist world of the accused witches who tended to be connected to the industrial-commerical *town* of Salem. (Boyer and Nissenbaum, 1974.)

In essence, the historical Witches of Europe and Colonial America were often scapegoats for societal ills; they could be and actually were blamed for a good deal of the social trouble and difficulty within their respective societies. Similarly, in both Europe and Colonial America, when there was "less *need* to credit the existence, and malign activity, of witches," the legal proceedings and accusations against Witches disappeared. "Where such belief was once largely functional, it became with the passage of time, simply irrelevant." (Demos, 1982:399.)

The Occult Debate
Issue #2: Dabbling in Music, Games and the Occult - Contagion or Adolescent Maturation?

A great deal of controversy exists about how dabbling in heavy metal music, fantasy role playing games and the occult affects youth. On one hand, contagion theory proponents feel dabbling in any or all three can and often does lead to serious involvement with occult activity and sometimes with occult crime. On the other hand, adolescent maturation theory proponents believe dabbling is a normal, transitional part of growing up.

Hypothesis: ***Dabbling in heavy metal music, fantasy role playing games and/or the occult lead to serious involvement in occult activity and sometimes with occult crime.*** Proponents feel that dabbling in heavy metal, role playing games and/or the occult can be contagious, leading to more serious, perhaps criminal and life-threatening involvement. While participation doesn't *cause* such behavior, it strongly *contributes* to anti-social and even criminal activity.

Sandi Gallant of the San Francisco Police Department describes an escalation effect whereby some youth dabble for a short time as non-criminal practitioners of Satanism, and other youth gravitate to serious criminal activity on behalf of their Satanic commitment: "Peer attention to the subculture goes from curiosity to entertaining; entertaining to devout interest; devout interest to conversion; and from conversion to entwining supernatural pre-occupation with major personality psychopathologies." (Gallant, 1986.)

Dr. Lawrence Trostle of the Claremont Graduate School conducted a study with 66 adolescent volunteers who live in East Los Angeles; 33 volunteers were self-identified stoners "with a reported preference for heavy metal rock music." His study "does offer support, albeit preliminary, to the suppositional position that a segment of today's youth are being influenced by witchcraft and the occult sciences and that heavy metal rock music is directly correlated with this identification. Further research is needed to establish if this association is widespread or unique to this sample." (Trostle, 1986.)

Paul King, M.D., Director of Adolescent Services at Charter Lakeside Hospital in Memphis treats drug-involved adolescents and has conducted several studies about links between involvement in heavy metal and Satanism. In his 1985 testimony before the U.S. Senate, Dr. King stated, "Heavy metal portrays the power and glory of evil. Adolescents with emotional and/or drug problems which I treat every day, become further involved in delinquent behavior, violence, acts of cruelty and Satan worship...Young people who are seeking power over others through identification with the power of evil find a close identification. The lyrics become a philosophy of life. It becomes a religion." (King, 1985:129, 130.)

Patricia Pulling, Director of Bothered About Dungeons & Dragons (B.A.D.D.) and private investigator, stronging feels that D&D, heavy metal, and movies portraying occult type rituals have contributed to the "growing number of adolescents who have committed murder, suicide and other anti-social behaviors directly related to their involvement in these practices. More surprisingly, many of these youngsters had no evidence of other psychological problems until they began to immerse themselves in the occult and began participating in mock rituals to gain a sense of power." (Pulling, 1989.)

Menconi Ministries Research Analyst, Dave Hart's heavy metal studies have led him to believe that "Music does not hypnotize our children or turn them into zombies. The music does not *make* our kids commit suicide, get pregnant, do drugs, drink booze or become rebellious...Simply stated, the music is not so much a problem as it is a symptom. It is symptomatic of deeper feelings - the hurts and fears that young people experience, often secretly. Rock music relates to those feelings. It identifies the inner turmoil, reinforces the alienation, and offers solutions in rebellion, promiscuous behavior, mindless escapism, violence and even death and suicide." (Hart, n.d.:12.)

Supporters of the Contagion Effect

Bothered About Dungeons & Dragons , Inc. (BADD)
Patricia Pulling, Director
P.O. Box 5513
Richmond, VA 23220 (804) 264-0403

BADD educates the public about the harmful effects of entertainment violence by publishing materials, presenting seminars, and providing referral services.

Dave Hart, Research Analyst
Menconi Ministries
P.O. Box 969
Cardiff by the Sea, CA 92007 (619) 436-8676

Working from a Christian perspective, Dave Hart's materials and presentations can be tailored for any group needing basic background information on heavy metal groups and involved youth.

Parents Music Resource Center
1500 Arlington Blvd.
Arlington, VA

Provides information and gives Congressional testimony about heavy metal influences, and has produced a video tape entitled, "Rising to the Challenge."

***Hypothesis:* Dabbling in heavy metal music, fantasy role playing games and/or the occult is simply a normal process of adolescent maturation.** Proponents feel that dabbling in heavy metal, fantasy role playing and the occult are in most cases, simply phases adolescents proceed through on the way to maturation. When they actually "grow up", the vast majority of adolescents shed such controversial activities for more acceptable affiliations.

Dr. Joyce Brothers has said that Dungeons & Dragons "provides an especially safe way for young people to meet their needs for excitement and adventure...it's just far enough removed from reality that the violence of the game doesn't promote real-life violence, but rather provides a way of draining off aggression and hostile impulses." (Brothers, 1984.)

An article published by the Game Manufacturer's Association states that in regard to fantasy role playing games, "The accusations regarding satanism are groundless. Roleplaying games no more make their players satan worshipers than Monopoly makes its players slum landlords. A game may be a person's first exposure to the occult but cannot be considered any more a 'doorway into satanism' than the average Steven King novel, encyclopedia, or book store." (Stafford, 1988.)

The Christian-oriented Spiritual Counterfeits Project claims that the concept of fantasy role playing games "is not wrong in and of itself. When carried out within the context of the Christian world view it can be a useful and creative activity. As creatures made in the image of an imaginative God we should consider ourselves obligated to stimulate and exercise as well as protect our precious gift of imagination." (Dokupil, 1982.)

In regard to dabbling in occult belief systems, Aidan A. Kelly of Holy Family College has written, "I think that some rebellion against childish religion is normal and necessary; the emotional bonds of that faith can be deep and stong, so that some struggle will be needed to break free of them. In struggling free of the cocoon, the butterfly strengthens the muscles it needs to fly with. I think this struggle will take an unhealthy form only if the normal growth process is thwarted by parents who, for whatever reason, attempt to infantilize their teenagers. If a young person is not allowed to express his or her real feelings and real thoughts when they occur in early adolescence, and must bottle them up for years, it is hardly surprising that there may be an explosion at around age 18, when that young person is ready to leave home. Furthermore, the worse this explosion is, then the less likely it will be, I suspect, that the person will ever be able to progress to a genuinely adult religion." (Kelly, 1986.)

In a 1986 study of 240 California teenagers, Drs. Jill Rosenbaum and Lorraine Prinsky found that the students questioned heard and understood very little of the musical lyrics that referred to sex, violence, drugs and satanism. Their research led them to conclude that "lyrics are not the primary reason that the young have for listening to popular music but rather the musical beat or overall sound of a recording is of greater interest to teenagers." (Rosenbaum and Prinsky, 1986:12.)

Organizations Supporting the Maturation Hypothesis

Game Manufacturer's Association
P.O. Box 867623
Plano, TX 75023

Comprised of professionals who manufacture games, including fantasy role playing games, the Association also publishes materials designed to correct the "misinformation being spread throughout the law enforcement and educational communities about the supposed dangers of roleplaying games."

Spiritual Counterfeits Project
P.O. Box 4308
Berkeley, CA 94704 (415) 540-0300

SCP is dedicated to understanding the "significance of spiritual turmoil and pluralism in our culture." As such, SCP researches broad spiritual trends, individual groups, and movements; authors a journal and newsletter; provides speaker services; and offers a "ACCESS Telephone Ministry" line.

CHAPTER TWO:
DEFINING OCCULT CRIME: THE PERPETRATORS, THEIR ACTIONS, AND THE VICTIMS

Defining occult crime, not surprisingly, is as controversial a task as defining occult activity. As *The Occult Debate, Issue #3* suggests, some members of the law enforcement community utilize definitions that place occult and occult-related crime into a new category of criminal behavior specifically called occult crime. Other law enforcers, however, strongly object to placing occult and occult-related criminal activity into a specialized category. To these practitioners, anyone of any belief who commits a crime, whether or not to further their beliefs, has committed a *crime* - not an occult crime, Satanic crime, or for that matter, a Christian crime.

While this study does not advocate a position on this debate, it does recognize many law enforcers, law enforcement agencies and law enforcement trainers *are* specifically defining occult crime. For such professionals, the following definition is suggested:

> *Occult crime encompasses ceremonial actions and/or ritualistic acts, involves occult-related behavior patterns, and is motivated by a belief in some occult ideology.*

Additionally, law enforcers who favor defining occult crime must be careful not to interchangeably and synonymously use the terms occult crime, Satanic crime, and/or ritualistic crime. Satanic crime is a *type* of occult crime; it encompasses only those criminal activities that may be committed by practicing Satanists, not all occultists. Similarly, ritualistic abuse is a *type* of occult crime involving repeated physical, sexual, psychological and/or spiritual abuse which utilizes rituals. The reader will become increasingly aware of these clear and very important distinctions as the chapter proceeds.

In law enforcement circles today, occult crime is a hotly debated topic, not just because such criminal activities involve belief systems diametrically opposed by many Americans and are allegedly heinous in nature, but because few law enforcers agree on the extent of occult crime; the motives of perpetrators; the types of crimes perpetrated by occultists; or the veracity of adults and children who claim they are victims of occult crime, especially ritualistic abuse. This chapter sheds some light on these debates by explaining the various controversies and documenting the arguments of various advocates. In so doing, it does not take sides but rather, seeks to provide an objective forum for continuing such debates and reaching some compromise resolutions that will benefit both the investigators and the victims of occult crime.

The Perpetrators

Although the vast majority of occultists are law-abiding practitioners, some step over the line between involvement in occult activities and involvement in occult crime. Just where is the dividing line? In the words of occult-crime investigator, Cleo Wilson of the Denver Police Department:

> "Where all these occult religions go bad is when people aren't satisfied to live within the environment they have created. It's not enough to have power over themselves. They want to control the heavens and each other. As the need for more power grows, occult crime increases. It attracts people who aren't satisfied; they want more power. The more powerful you are, the more people you have power over, and the more powerful you become in turn." (Wilson, as quoted in Kahaner, 1988:i.)

Those in search of such power are the ones who usually make the transition from occult activity into the world of occult crime. Because no "hard and fast" typology exists for occult criminals, they are usually described in one of two ways: either by their *method of operation* ; or by their *motive.*

The typology that utilizes *methods* to describe occult crime perpetrators identifies two distinct categories: dabbling and ritualism.

> *Dabbling involves people who are intermittently and experimentally involved in occult activities.* While dabbling in supernatural belief systems involves non-criminal activity which stems from a vague, curious interest, some dabbling involves intense preoccupation that culminates in criminal behavior. Such perpetrators most often act alone or in small loosely organized groups. Dabblers usually make up their own belief system based upon some occult ideology and perpetrate criminal activity that conforms to that ideology.
>
> *Ritualism involves people who commit criminal activities characterized by a series of repeated physical, sexual, and/or psychological assaults combined with a systematic use of symbols, ceremonies and/or machinations.* The need to repeat such acts can be cultural, sexual, economic, psychological, and/or spiritual.

Membership in either group is not mutually exclusive. Indeed, dabblers may commit ritualistic crimes and ritualists may also dabble in the occult.

The typology that utilizes *motives* to describe occult crime perpetrators also identifies two distinct categories: true believers and true criminals.

> *True believers are occult practitioners who commit crimes because such acts fit into and/or are required by their particular belief systems.* These persons are involved in crime primarily because the ideology, rituals and behavior patterns related to their occult beliefs motivate and require them to do so. Because their criminal actions are dependent upon an occult belief system and include some form of spiritual ritual, true believers are often called *spiritual ritualists.* True believers either commit crimes for *theologically evil purposes* or for *theologically good purposes.*

Those who commit crimes for *theologically evil purposes* are occult practitioners who must commit heinous crimes to obey the requirements of their particular belief system. They are usually manipulators who derive personal power from controlling others; their occult spirituality gives them such power.

Those who commit crimes for *theologically good purposes* are occult practitioners whose actions may or may not be criminal based upon cultural and legal standards. For instance, *Santeria* practitioners neither consider animal sacrifice immoral or illegal; yet animal sacrifice for religious reasons is illegal in some states and localities.

True criminals are persons who use the occult as an excuse to justify or rationalize their criminal behavior. They act individually or within occult groups which can and do "act as a social binding mechanism for some people to do what they want to do." (Kahaner interview,. April 11, 1989.) True criminals both dabble with the occult and are involved in rituals that fit their particular physical, sexual, psychological, social, economic, and/or spiritual needs; they are committed not to the belief system, but to the criminal action. Some law enforcement agencies call these occult criminals *predatory and psychopathic ritualists.*

Predatory Ritualists commit ritualistic crime because they crave power, financial gain and/or sexual gratification. Perpetrators most often prey upon certain victims - especially children - and use them for a wide array of sexual and economic means. An example of a predatory ritualistic criminal is the child sex ring organizer.

Psychopathic Ritualists commit ritualistic crime to satisfy their own deluded means. Perpetrators have obsessional or delusional personalities that allow them to twist religious symbolism to meet their specific psychopathic needs. Examples of such personalities are Charles Manson and the "Nightstalker", Richard Ramirez.

Thus, true believers are motivated by their belief system and utilize ritualistic methods to commit their criminal actions. True criminals are motivated by criminal instincts or desires and utilize both dabbling and ritualistic methods. But are these methods and motives applicable primarily to individuals who adopt an individualistic occult theology, or are they applicable to certain occult groups? Technically, any *individual* occultist could be responsible for any type of crime. He or she could be a true believer or a true criminal. In many law enforcement agencies, these lone individuals are considered the most dangerous and perhaps the most crazed.

Certain occult *groups*, however, are rarely, if ever, linked *as a group* to occult crime. In particular, the law enforcement officials contacted for this study stated that very few if any of the Neo-Pagan or Wiccan groups with whom they were familiar were involved in criminal activity directly related to their particular belief systems. The occult groups law enforcers target as most prone to possible criminal involvement are *Santeria, Palo Mayombe* and Satanism. This does not mean these groups actually *are* involved in criminal activity, but rather that some evidence exists to link them to certain activities. In some cases, as will be demonstrated in this and the remaining chapter, clear links have been established.

Adult and Youth Self-Styled Satanists: Two Prototypes

*A general profile of the **Youth Subculture Satanist** has been compiled by San Francisco Police Department's veteran occult investigator, Sandi Gallant.*

Youth Subculture Satanists are primarily male, Caucasian adolescents who exhibit various behavior problems that have gone unnoticed or undiagnosed; are intelligent but who underachieve; are creative and have high levels of curiosity; have low self-esteem; come from middle to upper-middle class families, some of whom may be dysfunctional or detached; have difficulty relating to peers; and who seek power and attention. Their belief system allows them to become involved in crime without having to accept any internal responsibility or guilt for it. (Gallant interview, April 3, 1989.)

*A general profile of the **Self-Styled Satanist** - the adult counterpart to the Youth Subculture Satanist, has been compiled by Dr. Martin Sanchez Jankowski. Dr. Jankowski was independently approached by three Satanic groups in the San Fernando Valley who asked him to become their informal historian. For two years, he regularly visited each group to observe their rituals and ceremonies. (Members wore masks during all encounters with Dr. Jankowski to protect their identities.) From his preliminary observations of 94 members in all three groups, he created a tentative profile:*

Members were males and females primarily between the ages of 20 and 28. The vast majority were from Caucasian middle to upper class families with traditional Christian backgrounds (as opposed to fundamentalist or "born again" backgrounds.) Most were high school educated and some had college degrees or some postsecondary schooling. The majority held odd jobs and a few had connections with the drug industry. The members referred to themselves as Satanists. Their rituals included flagilating and scarring themselves, especially their genitals; group sex; sacrificing animals such as dogs, cats and chickens; drinking the blood of sacrificed animals; and burning and burying the innards of sacrificed animals. (Jankowski interview, May 10, 1989.)

The Crimes

Theoretically, any occultist, just like any other individual, could commit a criminal activity. The concern herein, however, is not to discuss how occultists might fit into any criminal profile, but rather to examine the crimes most often linked to the occult. It is important to note at this point that such linkage has not necessarily been proven and, in fact, is sometimes assumed.

Just what are the crimes - both proven and assumed - most often linked to occultists? In general, law enforcers assume that several specific crimes have definite occult linkages: trespassing, vandalism, theft, graffiti, arson, animal sacrifice, and extortion. For the purposes of this study, such actions are referred to as "Generally Agreed Upon Crimes with Assumed Occults Links." There is a second category of crimes whose assumed links to crime are either supported or denied by law enforcers: suicide, kidnapping, murder and human sacrifice, and ritualistic abuse. This study refers to these activities as the "Crimes of Debate."

Generally-Agreed Upon Crimes

Many law enforcement investigators share a common belief that physical evidence found in the following crimes sometimes indicates an occult motivation: trespassing; vandalism; theft; graffiti; arson; animal mutilation and sacrifice; and extortion.

Trespassing

Trespassing related to occult activity usually involves occultists entering private areas such as wooded and forested lands, barns and other old or abandoned buildings. The purpose for such trespassing is to worship either in the area as it is naturally arranged, or to make it into an occult worship site with the appropriate altars and symbols. Occult related trespassing of this nature is committed both by true believers and true criminals who seek a private and isolated place to worship.

Vandalism

Vandalism most often associated with occult crime includes cemetery and church desecrations.

Cemetery Desecration. The most common types of cemetery desecration attributed to occult groups are overturning, breaking and/or stealing headstones; digging up graves; grave robbing; and tampering with human corpses or skeletons. The prevalence of cemetery desecration is unknown on either a national or statewide basis; more specifically, the prevalence of occult-related cemetary desecration is unknown. Detective Patrick Metoyer of Los Angeles Police Department's Criminal Conspiracy Section claims that grave robbings are regular occurrences in most of the City's jurisdictions, but he also indicates that the extent to which such activities are occult-related is unknown. (Metoyer interview, May 5, 1989.) Although little evidence exists to absolutely implicate certain occultists in these types of crime, it is commonly believed that *Mayomberos* and self-styled Satanists (especially juvenile dabblers) are most often involved. Further, many law enforcers assume both true believers and true criminals perpetrate such crimes.

True believers, like the *Mayombero*, may be motivated by religious beliefs that require cemetery desecration to fulfill certain rituals. For example, because *Palo*

Rumor or Reality?

The following article appeared in the July 28, 1989, issue of The *Pantagraph*, a Pontiac, Illinois local newspaper:

Goat Near Pontiac Possibly a Sacrifice . A mutilated goat found in the Vermilion River near Pontiac was "probably" the victim of satanic activity, Livingston County Sheriff's police said yesterday. The 50-pound male goat was found Wednesday in the Vermilion River...after the county veterinarian received an anonymous tip, police said. The goat, which had been dead for three to four days, was castrated and its horns were cut off, police said, adding that small animal sacrifice is common among devil worshippers. However, no indications of satanic worship were found near the goat, and police said there was no indication the animal was killed in Livingston County ... Although both county and city police have received reports of satanic meetings, rituals and animal sacrifices, little physical evidence has supported those reports...

On July 29th, this follow-up article appeared:

Goat Killed in Dog Attack. German shepherds, not devil worshippers, were responsible for the mutilation of a goat found Wednesday in the Vermilion River near Pontiac, Livingston County Sheriff Don Wall said yesterday. A McLean County resident whom Wall declined to identify, admitted yesterday that he dumped the 50-pound goat in the Vermilion River. Wall said the man contacted police after reading news stories that authorities believed the animal was sacrificed by members of a satanic cult...Police originally believed the goat was castrated and had its horns cut off by satanists, who often sacrifice small animals. However, Wall said the goat was injured when the dogs attacked and its horns had previously been removed...

Mayombe rituals require the use of human bones, grave robbings in Miami, New York and Florida are often assumed to have *Palo* linkages. *Mayomberos* are either directly implicated in robbing bones from graves or indirectly implicated for buying skulls and bones from grave diggers who steal them from cemeteries. The actual instances of such crimes are currently unknown in any jurisdiction across the nation.

Youth Subculture Satanists who may be either true believers or true criminals, are sometimes linked to cemetary desecration, especially tombstone vandalism and grave robbing. For example:

> Officer Tim Boyle of the Maryland National Capital Park Police recently investigated a case involving five juveniles who overturned tombstones, dug up a baby's grave and stole the body from a Montgomery County cemetery. Events reconstructed during the subsequent trial were as follows: five juveniles were smoking marijuana when one young man began discussing his involvement in a local Satanic group called "The Knights of Satan's Army." The juveniles spontaneously decided to steal a skull from a cemetery. The ringleader was convicted of grave robbing and sentenced to 18 months in prison. (Boyle interview, April 1989.)

> Detective Pat Metoyer recalled two Los Angeles-based Satanic crimes committed by young dabblers. In the first, cemetery tombstones were stolen and later turned up as altars for a Satanic worship service. The perpetrators were caught and "copped a plea" for vandalizing a cemetery. In the second case, the perpetrator stole a skull and, during the trial, indicated the skull was taken and used as part of a Satanic ritual. He was subsequently convicted of grave robbing in a court trial. (Metoyer interview, May 5, 1989.)

Church Desecration. Most often committed by true criminals who use dabbling in the occult as an excuse to commit a crime, church desecration includes the following actions: destroying Bibles; urinating and defecating on Holy objects and furniture; tearing crucifixes off walls; and destroying rosaries and crucifixes. Such vandalism has been reported in many communities across the nation. It is important to note, however, that the motivations behind such vandalism are increasingly linked to hate or bias crime rather than occult crime. For instance, many localities are reporting that synagogues are increasingly the victims of spray-painted swastikas and anti-Semitic graffiti.

Theft

Thefts from Christian churches, Jewish synagogues, hospitals, morgues, medical schools and funeral homes are often linked with occult crime. Items that are most often taken include cadavers, skeletal remains and religious artifacts from churches and synagogues which are considered sacred: crucifixes, communion wafers, wine, chalices, etc. Thefts are committed both by true believers who require actual holy artifacts for their rituals and by true criminals for a variety of reasons.

Graffiti

Graffiti is one of the most common crimes related to the occult. While a small amount of graffiti is probably related to other occult groups, the vast majority is directly related to involvement in Satanic groups. All law enforcement officials contacted in the course of this study reported instances of Satanic-related graffiti, most of which depicted Satanic symbolism. Additionally, all felt that the vast majority of such instances were committed by Youth Subculture Satanists, most of whom were dabbling in the occult.

Arson

Arson is another crime which is almost always attributed to Satanists, especially Youth Subculture Satanists. Among the most common places for occultists to commit arson are churches and synagogues in which particularly holy sections or artifacts are burned, and houses or buildings where damaging evidence could be uncovered by investigators. Additionally, some law enforcement officers have found Satanic graffiti at some arson scenes.

Animal Sacrifice

Although sacrificing animals for religious rites has a long and significant history in many nations, such practices have generally avoided the annals of American history. As the number of recent Latin American arrivals to the United States increases, however, so do the number of believers in Afro-Caribbean religions that practice animal mutilation and sacrifice. These are primarily the actions of true believers, primarily *Santerians,* who sacrifice animals as part of rituals designed to please their gods and to invoke some kind of magic.

During the past several decades, American *santéros* have most often practiced their rituals in secrecy and in safety, while invoking their Constitutional protection to practice their religion of choice. Indeed, the laws have been on the *Santeros'* side; few states have considered outlawing animal sacrifice for religious reasons. Indeed, almost all states have kosher laws allowing animals to be slaughtered for religious purposes if the primary purpose is for practitioners *to consume the animal remains.*

In *Santeria,* however, animals are sacrificed primarily to propitiate the gods, not for human consumption. While the animal remains are sometimes consumed subsequent to most rituals and ceremonies, consumption is not the primary purpose. Consequently, as the number of practicing *santeros* continues to climb and adherents move to urban centers across the nation, and reports of animal sacrifice attributed to self-styled Satanists are increasing, new state

California: The Status of Crimes Against Animals for Religious Purposes

California communities, like most others across the nation, currently have no local ordinances specifically prohibiting the animal mutilation and sacrifice for religious purposes. Currently, such cases could be challenged under any of the California Penal Code sections dealing with crimes against animals, some of which are summarized below.

Crimes Against Animals - Felony or Misdemeanor. (Pen. 597) (a) Except as provided in subdivision (c), every person who maliciously and intentionally maims, mutilates, tortures, or wounds a living animal which is the property of the person or which is the property of another, or maliciously and intentionally kills an animal which is the property of the person or which is the property of another, is guilty of an offense punishable by imprisonment in the state prison, or by a fine of not more than $20,000, or by both the fine and imprisonment, or, alternatively, by imprisonment in the county jail for not more than one year, or by a fine of not more than $2,000, or by both the fine and imprisonment.

(b) Except as otherwise provided in subdivision (a) or (c), every person who overdrives, overloads, drives when overloaded, overworks, tortures, torments, deprives of necessary sustenance, drink, or shelter, cruelly beats, mutilates, or cruelly kills any animal, or causes or procures any animal to be so overdriven, overloaded, driven when overloaded, overworked, tortured, tormented, deprived of necessary sustenance, drink, shelter, or to be cruelly beaten, mutilated, or cruelly killed; and whoever, having the charge or custody of any animal, either as owner or otherwise, subjects any animals to needless suffering, or inflicts unnecessary cruelty upon the animal, or in any manner abuses any animal, or fails to provide the animal with proper food, drink, or shelter or protection from the weather...is, for every such offense, guilty of a misdemeanor.

(c) Every person who maliciously and intentionally maims, mutilates, or tortures any mammal, bird, reptile, amphibian, or fish as described in subdivision (d) [endangered and fully protected species] is guilty of an offense punishable by imprisonment in the state prison, or by a fine of not more than $20,000, or by both the fine and imprisonment, or, alternatively, by imprisonment in the county jail for not more than one year, by a fine of not more than $2,000, or by both the fine and imprisonment...

Permitting Animals to Go Without Care: Abandoned Animals to be Killed. (Pen. 597f) Every owner, driver, or possessor of any animal, who shall permit the same to be in any building, enclosure, lane, street, square, or lot, of any city, city and county, or judicial district, without proper care and attention, shall, on conviction, be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor...

Confinement of Animals. (Pen. 597t.) Every person who keeps an animal confined in an enclosed area shall provide it with an adequate exercise area. If the animal is restricted by a leash, rope, or chain, the leash, rope, or chain shall be affixed in such a manner that it will prevent the animal from becoming entangled or injured and permit the animal's access to adequate shelter, food and water. Violation of this section constitutes a misdemeanor.

Efforts to make the Penal Code reflect the new concern for religiously-motivated animal mutilation and sacrifice first gained statewide attention during an April 1989 conference of the California Animal Control Directors Association. At about the same time, the Los Angeles Board of Animal Regulation called for a comprehensive staff report on animal sacrifice for religious purposes. The Board also announced its consideration of the Model Ordinance drafted by the Humane Society of the United States which, in part, recommends:

That animal sacrifice be defined as "injuring or killing of any animal, whether domestic or wild, in any religious or cult ritual or as an offering to a deity wherein the animal has not been killed for the primary purpose of food preparation, regardless of whether the flesh or blood of such animal is subsequently consumed."

That "No person shall own, keep, possess, sacrifice or slaughter any sheep, goat, pig, cow or the young of such species, poultry, rabbit, dog, cat or any other animal intending to use such animal for food purposes or animal sacrifice rituals. This section is applicable to any person, group or cult that engages in animal sacrifice. The presence of any animal carcass or animal parts or blood found in conjunction with any cult ritual shall be *prima facie* evidence of a violation of this ordinance. Nothing in this section shall be construed to prohibit any establishment licensed under the laws of this state and under the rules and regulations promulgated by the (state) Department of Agriculture from lawfully engaging in the slaughter of animals which are specifically raised for food purposes."

Those who violate any such ordinance "shall be fined not less than $100.00 nor more than $1,000 for each offense and/or jailed for not more than six months." (*Model Animal Slaughter/Animal Sacrifice Ordinance*, The Human Society of the United States. For further information, contact Eric Sakach at the Humane Society's West Coast Regional Office, 1713 J Street, Suite 211, Sacramento, CA 95814 916/447-3295.)

legislation and local ordinances are beginning to challenge current laws. Consider the following:

- In California, the laws summarized in the accompanying box are increasingly being targeted for court challenges when animal sacrifices are uncovered. As Field Investigator Eric Sakach of the Humane Society of the United States' West Coast Regional Office recently remarked, "In some cases of animal mutiliation or sacrifice we would actively pursue litigation under the existing laws...such as the sacrifice of a stolen animal." (Sakach interview, August 9, 1989.)

- In Los Angeles, the Board of Animal Regulation has announced its possible adoption of the *Model Animal Slaughter/Animal Sacrifice Ordinance* authored by The Humane Society of the United States, as explained in the accompanying box on California laws.

- In Hialeah, Florida, as noted in *Legal Casestudy #1,* the nation's first test of whether sacrificial killing for religious reasons violates the First Amendment is being battled in the federal courts.

Extortion

Although group practice of extortion is not a known activity of any occult group, individual practitioners of some occult belief systems have used their religious involvement as a tool to extort money and information. These true criminals are perfect examples of the predatory ritualist who uses his or her religion as a means to obtain economic or other personal gain.

While individual practitioners of any occult group discussed in this study could be extortionists, the act of extorting has been directly attributed to some members of the *Santeria* community. Detective Pat Metoyer provided an example of spiritually motivated extortion from his Los Angeles City jurisdiction. During a recent investigation, a follower of *Santeria* asked a local *santero* to help punish her husband. To do so, the *santero* asked for a lock of her hair to help him identify her power. After the spell was cast, the *santero* asked for his reward; the client gave him $25, but the *santero* then demanded $500. In an extortion attempt, the *santero* began sending her single strands of hair along with threats unless the full payment was received. (Metoyer interview, May 5, 1989.) Similar extortion attempts have been noticed in Miami, but investigators there note such crimes are especially difficult to prosecute because the victims will not come forward. More often than not, the victims do not perceive themselves as victims. Indeed, they trust the *santero* and believe their economic sacrifices are being used to protect them. (Paulhus interview, August 16, 1989.)

The Crimes of Debate

Currently, at least four other crimes have been linked to the occult by some criminal justice professionals: suicide; kidnapping; murder and human sacrifice; and ritualistic abuse. But others disagree with such alleged linkages. Alleged is a key word because although many law enforcement officials believe these crimes are occurring and some people who have left occult groups claim they are common, very little physical evidence exists to substantiate such claims.

The debate is especially complex because the vast majority of law enforcers do not deny the occurrence of such crimes nor do they deny that *individual* spiritual, predatory and/or psychopathic ritualists have actually committed such crimes. Where the debate begins is whether or not such activity is widespread and required by an occult *group* in relation to its spiritual identity. In other words, are they the actions of true believers who work within organized groups that exist to perpetuate criminal activity linked to their belief system; or are they the actions of individual "crazies" who grasp onto the occult identity to rationalize criminal involvement?

Suicide

Occult-related suicide appears to be the primary domain of Youth Subculture Satanists who are often true believers, but sometimes dabblers. Indeed, Satanic-related teenage suicide is a major concern among many criminal justice practitioners and therapists interviewed for this research. Juvenile Officer Tim Boyle explained why he is so worried, "With some victims, autopsies show there were no drug or alcohol residues. This is because Satanic beliefs have so overcome their lives, they don't need drugs anymore...Satanism glorifies death; it takes the fear of death away. So when kids are suicidal *and* involved in Satanism, they lose their fear of death and are sometimes more likely to take their own life." (Boyle interview, April 13, 1989.)

As an example, Officer Boyle cited a suicide that occurred in Montgomery County on November 12, 1988. Two girls, ages 12 and 13, killed themselves in a pact. Both had a history of emotional problems, drug involvement and an alleged interest in Satanism. The girls allegedly told several school friends they wanted to die so they could "meet Satan." Drugs apparently were not involved; other than a small amount of aspirin, no drugs were detected in either victim. Whether Satanism was the motivation remains unknown.

Kidnapping

Kidnapping people of all ages, but especially children, is thought to be a prevalent crime among some occult practitioners. Especially accused are Traditional/Cult Satanists who are said to kidnap victims needed for ritual sacrifice, self-styled juvenile Satanists whose dabbling has taken them "to the point of no return," and *Mayomberos*, whose rituals require a human skull, often with the brains still attached, to add to their *nganga*.

Perhaps the most infamous recent case of kidnapping was one allegedly perpetrated for the purposes of ritualistic sacrifice. In the April 1989 Matamoros case, a young American University of Texas student, Mark Kilroy, and several Mexican citizens were kidnapped and later ritualistically killed and

The *Mayombero:* Involvement in Occult Activity and Occult Crime

Despite what is commonly believed about practitioners of *Palo Mayombe*, not all of their activities are illegal. The vast majority of their magic may be described as black or evil in nature, but that does not necessarily make such activity *criminal* For example, Migene Gonzalez-Wippler describes a magical ritual typical of that asked of a *Mayombero:*

"Suppose a woman comes to the *mayombero* and asks him to kill her husband, who is throwing away all his money on other women. The *mayombero* agrees, for a price. He then goes to the cemetery, where be 'buys' the life of the man with a silver coin, maybe fifty cents. He pays for the man's life by making a hole in a dark corner of the cemetery and burying the coin inside. This hole becomes the symbolic grave of the man who is to be killed. The mayombero takes some of the earth from this hole and wraps it in a black rag. He takes it home, where he lights a taper that he has previously stolen from a church. He heats a pin, which he used to run through the body of a live centipede that has been tied with a black thread. He then calls the man's name aloud three times and places the earth from the cemetery into the *nganga*, together with a piece of clothing of the victim that has been recently worn by him. He takes the *nganga* and the pin with the centipede to a large tree, where he sticks the still-squirming animal to the tree bark. He again calls the victim's name aloud and commands the *kiyumba* [skull in the *nganga*] to kill the man and make him suffer the same torments as the centipede pinned to the tree. Invariably, a few days after this frightful spell has been cast, the intended victim dies suddenly, usually in a violent way." (Gonzalez-Wippler, 1989:247.)

While the *mayombero's* ultimate purpose was evil, was it illegal? Has he actually killed the victim? The only clearly illegal activity involved theft of a candle. In the next case describing the preparation of a *nganga* for ritual use, criminal activity is more clearly identified.

"The *mayombero* waits until the moon is propitious, and then he goes to a cemetery with an assistant. Once there, he sprinkles rum in the form of a cross over a pre-chosen grave. The grave is opened, and the head, toes, finger, ribs, and tibias of the corpse are removed. The *mayombero* usually knows the identity of the cadaver, which is known as *kiymba.* They are usually recent graves, as the *mayombero* insists on having a head in which the brain is still present, however decayed. He believes that the brain of the *kiyumba* can think and thus 'act' better. The choice *kiyumbas* are those belonging to very violent persons, especially those of criminals and of the insane, for the purposes of the *mayombero* are generally to commit acts of death and destruction...

After the macabre remains are removed from their graves, they are wrapped in a black cloth and the *mayombero* and his helper return to the witch's house. The *mayombero* lies on the floor. His assistant covers him with a sheet and lights four tapers, which are placed on each side of the *mayombero's* body, as if he were dead. On the blade of a knife he places seven small heaps of gunpower, known as *fula.* The body of the mayombero becomes rigid and then goes into convulsions as the spirit of the *kiyumba* takes possession of him. The assistant asks the spirit if it is willing to work for the *mayombero.* If the spirit agrees, all the heaps of gunpower will ignite spontaneously and simultaneously. If the gunpower does not burn, the answer is negative and the body remains must be returned to the cemetery.

Once the spirit accepts the pact, the grisly ceremony is ended. The *mayombero* writes the name of the dead person on a piece of paper and places it at the bottom of a big iron cauldron, together with a few coins, which are the price of the *kiyumba's* help. The body's remains are added to the cauldron, together with some earth from the grave. The *mayombero* then makes an incision on his arm with a knife that must have a white handle, and lets a few drops of blood fall into the cauldron, so that the *kiuymba* may drink and be refreshed...After the human or animal blood has been spinkled on the remains, the mayombero adds to the cauldron the wax from a burnt candle, ashes, a cigar butt, and some lime. Also added to the mixture is a piece of bamboo, sealed at both ends with wax, and filled with sand, sea water, and quicksilver. This gives the *kiyumba* the speed of the quicksilver and the persistence of the sea tide, which never rest and are forever in movement. The body of a small black dog is also added to the cauldron to help the spirit "track down" its victims. Next to the dog, a variety of herbs and tree barks are placed inside the cauldron. The last ingredients to be added are red pepper, chili, garlic, ginger, onions, cinnamon, and rue, together with ants, worms, lizards, termites, bats, frogs, Spanish flies, a tarantula, a centipede, wasp, and a scorpion.

After the *nganga* is ready, it is brought back to the cemetery where it is buried and left for three Fridays. Then it is disinterred and taken to the woods, where it is again buried for another three Fridays, this time by the side of a ceiba, or any other magical tree. At the end of this combined period of forty-two days, the *nganga* is taken home by the *mayombero*, where he again gives it some fresh blood and adds some rum with pepper, dry wine, and water. The *nganga* is finished and ready to work." (Gonzalez-Wippler, 1989:244-45.)

The illegal actions in this ritual include: cemetery desecration, theft of human remains, and animal mutilation.

sacrificed by orders of drug dealer and *Mayombero*, Adolfo de Jesus Costanzos. After the media attention and accusations of Satanism died down, the facts pointed to Costanzos' *individual* and psychopathic involvement in *Palo Mayombe.* In essense, it appears that Costanzos used *Palo Mayombe* and the resulting sacrifice to convince his workers in the drug dealing trade that they would be protected in their illegal endeavors.

Matamoros, many scholars of Afro-Caribbean belief systems assert, was an aberration involving an especially deviant personality who used his involvement with and knowledge of *Palo Mayombe* for his own economic, criminal, and psychological needs. To these scholars, Costanzos was yet another true criminal involved in spiritual ritualism. Others believe that Mark Kilroy was a human sacrifice murdered because Costanzos' true belief in *Palo Mayombe* required his death; for these adherents, what happened in Matamoros could and does happen across the nation.

Murder and Human Sacrifice

Probably the most controversial crime allegedly committed for occult purposes is murder perpetrated for spiritual reasons and sometimes to provide a human sacrifice. Sacrificing a human being and cannibalizing human remains have played a part in some historical and a few contemporary rituals. Historically, early Pagan rites included both animal and human sacrifice; some medieval Witches practiced such rites on a small scale and probably occasional basis (Russell Interview, March 1989); and early HaitianVoodoo practiced the blood sacrifice of the "goat without horns", usually a young boy or girl. (d'Argent, 1970:27).

Contemporarily, both *Palo Mayombe* practitioners and Satanists are often linked to human sacrifice. Such links, however, have rarely been systemically and rigorously examined, much less proven. Except for the recent sociopathic events in Matamoros, human sacrifice has not been absolutely linked to *Mayomberos.* Likewise, such links have not been proven for practicing Satanists except in a few sociopathic cases. It appears that Satanists are especially targeted as practitioners of human sacrifice because *The Satanic Bible* suggests such action is acceptable under two circumstances: "to release the magician's wrath in the throwing of a curse, and more important, to dispose of a totally obnoxious and deserving individual." (LaVey, 1968:88.)

LaVey is, however, careful to add that "under no circumstances would a Satanist sacrifice any animal or baby!...The purest form of carnal existence reposes in the bodies of animals and human children who have not grown old enough to deny themselves their natural desires...Therefore, the Satanist holds these beings in sacred regard, knowing he can learn much from these natural magicians of the world." (LaVey, 1968:89.) Regardless of LaVey's claims, law enforcers are generally consensual in their belief that Religious Satanists affiliated with either the Church of Satan or the Temple of Set are rarely if ever involved in human sacrifice.

Where such consensus ends is with the involvement of the other three types of Satanic groups: the self-styled Satanists, Youth Subculture Satanists, and Cult Satanists. Some believe Youth Subculture Satanists who have become true believers commit murder for sacrificial reasons required of their spiritualism. Two recent cases involving self-styled juvenile Satanists who committed murder have been cited in defense of this belief.

> In the Summer of 1983, a troubled 14-year-old named Sean Sellers began dabbling in Satanic theology and ritual. By early 1985, according to later court testimony, he dedicated his life to the powers of darkness by burning incense and writing in his own blood, "I renounce God, I renounce Christ. I will serve only Satan...Hail Satan." On September 8, 1985, Sean and a friend who was also involved in Satanism, stole his grandfather's .357 Magnum and drove to a convenience store where he shot and killed Robert Bower, a clerk who once refused to sell them beer. Several months later, Sean, who still claims he remembers nothing about the incident, shot and killed his mother and stepfather. At his trial, his defense attorneys unsuccessfully argued that being under the control of Satan constitutes insanity.
>
> Throughout 1987, three teenagers living in the small town of Carl Junction, Missouri, were deeply involved in several rebellious trappings of troubled teenagers - especially heavy metal and drugs. Moreover, they had also been dabbling in Satanism for quite some time. By December, they were tired of dabbling with their previous Satanic-related crimes which primarily included scribbling satanic graffiti on abandoned buildings and sacrificing a few animals. On December 6, Jim Hardy, Pete Roland and Ron Clements decided, according to later court testimony, to bludgeon a human being to death, offering a "sacrifice to Satan." During Pete Roland's trial, the accused testified that "I did as I was told." The victim was a socially maladjusted "wanna be", Steve Newberry, who had occasionally been involved in the group's discussions about Satanism. Again, as in the Sellers case, defense attorneys unsuccessfully used the insanity plea.

Detractors of the true believer theory argue that self-styled juvenile Satanists like those above are disturbed young people with histories of familial problems and anti-social and sometimes criminal behavior. Satanism, they assert, is the rationale for commiting these heinous crimes - it is *not* the motive. Further, they often cite evidence of extensive drug use that, rather than Satanic involvement, often encourages such heinous crimes.

Ritualistic Abuse

Cult Satanists are often accused of sacrificing humans, especially infants. Currently, such sacrifices are more commonly known as ritualistic abuse. Beginning in 1980 with the

publication of *Michelle Remembers* by Dr. Lawrence Pazder and Michelle Smith, a new type of occult crime was postulated: ritualistic abuse. In the book, Michelle and her psychiatrist recount how in the course of her continued therapeutic sessions as an adult, she remembered involvement in a Satanic cult in Vancouver, British Columbia when she was five years old. Her account tells how her mother was forced to surrender her for sexual Satanic rituals and how she was forced to participate for an extended period of time during which the group unsuccessfully tried to convert her. Soon thereafter, similar stories began to appear, linking for the first time, traditional accounts of specifically Satanic involvement to ongoing physical, sexual, emotional and spiritual child abuse. The result was the emergence of a particularly heinous type of crime which generally became known as ritualistic abuse or, more specifically, as ritualistic child abuse. The alleged perpetrators of such abuse are most often the Cult Satanists.

In the broadest sense, *ritualistic abuse of children, adolescents, and adults involves repeated physical, sexual, psychological and /or spiritual abuse which utilizes rituals.* Perhaps the most comprehensive description of ritual abuse is that of the Los Angeles Commission on Women's Ritual Abuse Task Force:

> "Ritual abuse rarely consists of a single episode. It usually involves abuse over an extended period of time. The physical abuse is severe, sometimes including torture and killing. The sexual abuse is unusually painful, sadistic, and humiliating, intended as a means of gaining dominance over the victim. The psychological abuse is devastating and involves the use of ritual/ indoctrination, which includes mind control techniques and mind altering drugs, and ritual/intimidation which conveys to the victim a profound terror of the cult members and of the evil spirits they believe the cult members can command. Both during and after the abuse, most victims are in a state of terror, mind control, and dissociation in which disclosure is exceedingly difficult." (Los Angeles Commision on Women, 1989.)

Currently, there is probably no more divisive issue within the criminal justice community than that of ritualistic abuse. While no one disputes the existence or increase of ritualistic abuse, few agree about several other aspects: the extent of ritualistic crime committed specifically by Cult Satanists; the motivations of perpetrators; and the veracity of the victims who claim to have survived ritualistic abuse at the hands of Cult Satanists. Because of the current preeminence of ritualistic abuse in the criminal justice community, each of these major controversies are discussed in the subsequent series of *Occult Debates:*

The Occult Debate: Issue #4-Perpetrators of Ritualistic Abuse: Actions of True Believers or True Criminals?

The Occult Debate: Issue #5- The Extent of Ritualistic Abuse: National Conspiracy or National Hysteria?

The Occult Debate: Issue #6- Adult Victims of Ritualistic Abuse: Survivors or Delusionaries?

The Occult Debate: Issue #7- Child Victims of Ritualistic Abuse: Abused or Indoctrinated?

The Victims

Not surprisingly, even the victims of occult crime are subject to controversy. Such debate is hardly surprising in light of the fact that the types of occult crimes committed *against people* are also the subject of controversy. If the criminal justice community disagrees about the commission of suicide, kidnapping, sacrifice and ritual abuse crimes that are actually linked to occult crime, it is natural to disagree upon whether or not the victims of such crimes actually exist.

If we accept the belief that some number - be it large or small - of occult crime victims exist, then we are faced with a host of other issues: Who are the victims? If the victims survive the criminal action, what sort of symptoms will be evident? And perhaps most importantly, are there well-trained therapists available to provide victims with assistance specifically designed to help them?

Who Are the Victims?

In general, occult crime victims fall into two categories: those who are actually killed or who kill themselves in the commission of an occult-related crime; and those that have survived the commission of ritualistic crimes. Those who do not survive are generally believed to be the victims of suicide and occult-related rituals requiring kidnapping and sacrifice. Such crimes, as evidenced throughout this chapter, are most often attributed to Self-styled Satanists, Youth Subculture Satanists, and Cult Satanists and occasionally to practitioners of *Santeria* and *Palo Mayombe.* While no proof of any direct correlation currently exists, many law enforcers believe that the following types of people are more susceptible to suicide, kidnapping and sacrificial victimization:

Suicide: Adolescents who have histories of family, school, and/or drug problems *and* who begin to dabble in occult, specifically Satanic, belief systems.

Kidnapping and sacrifice: Juvenile runaways; children and adolescents of families that do not have the income for a lengthy private investigation needed to find them; adults who have few friends or employment that may take them out of normal contact with family and friends; people who fit a common or average description of many other people.

Law enforcers also believe the following types of persons are more susceptible to ritualistic abuse:

Ritualistic abuse. Children who are born into or are acquired by families with an occult-centered belief system; children who attend out-of-home day care and

Legal Casestudy #1
Is Animal Sacrifice a Constitutionally-Protected Religious Ritual? - The Hialeah Case

In early 1987, Hialeah, Florida became the site of the nation's first public church devoted to *Santeria.* Ernesto Pichardo, a *Santeria* priest and founder of The Church of the *Lukumi Babalu-aye,* found himself and the new church immediately involved in a heated controversy over the *Santerian* practice of animal sacrifice. On June 9, 1987, the Hialeah City Council unanimously adopted an ordinance prohibiting any religious group from sacrificing an animal in a religious ritual or practice. Pichardo immediately filed a lawsuit against the City, claiming the ordinance violated his freedom of religion rights guaranteed in the First Amendment to the Constitution. City Attorney William Wetzel then turned to Florida's Attorney General, Robert A. Butterworth, for an opinion on two basic questions of law:

First, does Chapter 828 of the Florida Statutes which prohibits persons from "unnecessary or cruelly" killing animals prohibit a religious group from sacrificing an animal in a religious ritual or practice?

Second, does the 1986 Amendment to Chapter 828 which permits the enactment of any ordinance identical to Chapter 828 preempt and prohibit a City from enacting an ordinance making religious animal sacrifice unlawful?

On July 23, 1987, Butterworth delivered his opinions to Wetzel, deciding that:

First, "...in determining whether a duly enacted statute may be applied by a state to prohibit a particular religious practice, the courts must weigh the interests of religious freedom and of the state in the preservation of the health, safety and morals of society. Upon finding that a compelling state interest exists, the court could approve the application of the prohibition against a particular religious practice, such as the sacrificial killing of animals...Unless and until the Legislature modifies the statutes, it is my opinion that Florida law, specifically s. 828.12, F.S., prohibits the sacrificial killing of animals other than for the primary purpose of food consumption."

Second, "It is my opinion that a municipality may adopt an ordinance prohibiting the religious sacrifice of animals within the city pursuant to s. 828.27, F.S. (1986 Supp.)." (Butterworth, 1987:6-9.)

The case then moved to Miami Federal court. Closing arguments were heard in mid-August1989. In early October, the case was decided in favor of the City of Hialeah on the grounds that the *Santerian* practice of sacrificing animals is not in the best health and safety interests of the City. Pichardo has filed an appeal.

The Case

Pichardo, whose defense is being handled by the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), argued that the City ordinance is a prejudicial endeavor aimed at *Santeria* practitioners; that animal sacrifice is an accepted religious practice protected under state statutes allowing for the "ritual slaughter" of animals for consumption; and that the laws and regulations governing animal cruelty and sacrifice are inconsistently enforced, citing in particular the allowance of Kosher slaughter and cock fights.

The City, supported by a series of *amicus curiae* briefs, argued that the public health and safety are threatened by *Santeria* practitioners who throw carcasses into the streets where they rot and are sometimes eaten by the homeless; that the welfare of children is threatened when they are allowed to witness a violent animal sacrifice carried out by a well-respected authority figure; and that animal sacrifice constitutes cruelty to animals.

The Implications

The City of Hialeah is currently involved in a precedent-setting case. Whatever the decision at the next federal level, both sides have vowed to appeal any decision rendered by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Fourth District, in Atlanta, directly to the Supreme Court. The ultimate decision will determine how all states must react in regard to allowing or disallowing animal sacrifice as part of a religious ritual. For further information on the case and its outcome, contact the following:

Marc Paulhus, Director
Humane Society of the U.S., Southeast Region
325 John Knox Road, Building F, Suite 228
Tallahassee, FL 32303 (904) 386-3435
(testified for the City)

Charles Wetli, M.D., Deputy Chief Medical Examiner
#1 on Bob Hope Road
Miami, Florida 33136-1133 (305) 545-2430
(Although Dr. Wetli testified for the plaintiff, he initially requested to be a neutral court witness.)

recreational situations where the care and facilities are not routinely examined; children in out-of-home day care and recreational situations who have low self-esteem and/or whose parents have not taught or encouraged them to question adult authority; adolescents and adults who are kidnapped; adolescents or adults who are recruited and converted to an occult belief system.

What are the Symptoms of Surviving Victims?

Most people in the therapeutic community are in agreement that ritually abused children and adults often suffer from Multiple Personality Disorder (MPD), a little understood phenomenon. The standard diagnostic tool of American psychiatrists, *The Disagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Third Edition, Revised 1987* also known as *DSM III-R,* says MPD is "the essential feature" of dissociative disorders which are disturbances or alterations "in the normally integrative functions of identity, memory, or consciousness." The *DSM III-R* further states that MPD sufferers may exhibit as many as 10 personalities and, in some cases, more than 200 in which "the personalities and personality states each have unique memories, behavior patterns, and social relationships." MPD sufferers may also have a belief that they are possessed by another person or entity, a feeling that "may also be a delusion in a psychotic disorder, such as schizophrenia..." (American Psychiatric Association, 1987: 269-270.)

Thus, the debate that surrounds this particular issue does not question the existence of some victims who have been ritually abused and consequently suffer from MPD, but rather whether the very nature of MPD makes the survivor's story credible in a court of law. In other words, can it provide hard evidence? As Robert Hicks, former police officer and currently Criminal Justice Analyst for the Commonwealth of Virginia warns, law enforcers are faced with a series of paradoxes when dealing with MPD victims who are allegedly survivors of occult-related ritualistic abuse:

> On the one hand, police cite the growing number of cult survivor stories and their sameness as evidence of the satanic underground (that is, people who have never met telling identical tales.) Yet most MPD sufferers, usually young women, do not present verifiable stories. None has yielded physical evidence of crime other than physiological symptoms which are part and parcel of MPD. Hypnosis for police purposes produces no results. MPD sufferers can take years to interview to ascertain even a few facts. (Hicks, 1989:19.)

For the law enforcer, then, the question is not "can we *believe* the survivor's story"? Indeed, the controversies discussed in *The Occult Debate: Issue #5* are not of paramount importance to the law enforcement community. Instead, the essential question asks, "can we *corroborate* the survivor's story with hard evidence?" Thus, victims who have survived and are known MPD sufferers will continue to have low credibility as witnesses until the medical community can allay

Legal Case Study #2
Admission of a Defendant's Belief in Satanism -
State v. Waterhouse

At the 1986 trial of Scott Waterhouse for the strangulation killing of a twelve year-old girl, the State introduced a tape recorded conversation between Waterhouse and the police officers. In the tape, Waterhouse described at length Satanic beliefs which involved sexual and destructive rituals and the extent of his involvement with Satanism.

At the trial, the following were introduced into evidence: the above mentioned tape; Waterhouse's testimony that Satanism represented the darker side of humanity and urges indulgence of man's carnal needs rather than abstinence; and a portion of *The Satanic Bible* that emphasized a belief that weaker people should be dominated by those who are stronger. At no time during the trial did Waterhouse object to the admission of any such evidence. Upon conviction and subsequent appeal, Waterhouse argued that the evidence pertaining to Satanism was inadmissible under Maine laws because its potential for unfairly prejudicing the jury outweighed its probative value.

In the August 15, 1986 decision of the Maine Supreme Judicial Court, it was found that evidence of the defendant's belief in Satanism was properly admitted at his trial and the value of such evidence outweighed danger of unfair prejudice. The text of the conclusion read in part:

> "We conclude that the evidence of satanism and the defendant's belief therein is relevant for the permissible purposes of proving the identity of the perpetrator as well as his intent. As to identity, the evidence described above demonstrates that as a believer in satanism, defendant could view commission of the heinous crime involved in this case as a means of achieving 'physical, mental or emotional gratification.' Similarly, he could believe that a demonstration of strength by total domination of a weaker person would bring 'reverence among men' at the expense of one who, being weak, deserved his fate. It was for the jury to decide whether such motivations were actually at work in this case, but the evidence of satanic beliefs is certainly probative of motive and, therefore, of the identity of the perpetrator within the meaning of M.R. Evid. 401. On the issue of intent, which the State has an affirmative burden to prove, the consistency between the circumstances of the crime and satanism's emphasis on sex, destruction and denigration of weakness, makes it more likely that if the defendant killed the victim, he did so intentionally rather than by accident, i.e., through recklessness or criminal negligence. Thus, the evidence of satanism is probative on the issue of intent."

the fears of the law enforcement community that such victims are really psychotics who have in fact been abused, but have imagined such abuse to be occult related.

Are Trained Therapists Available to Assist Surviving Victims?

The existence of therapists specifically trained to deal with alleged survivors of occult-related abuse is the subject of yet another controversy. While the proponents of the "indoctrination" theory discussed in *The Occult Debate, Issue #6* do not question the sincerity of therapists who work with alleged survivors, they do question their training, motives and their methods. Without repeating the controversy at this point, it is important to note that counseling opportunities for survivors have rapidly increased over the past several years.

Summary

Investigators and therapists confronted with allegations of occult crime must be acquainted with the following issues:

1. Much debate currently exists about whether crimes committed in connection with an occult belief system should comprise a new crime category. Despite the debate, many occult cops and law enforcement agencies are specifically defining occult crime.

2. If law enforcers and law enforcement agencies decide to define occult-related crime, then some clear distinctions should be made. Most importantly, occult crime should not be used interchangeably with the terms Satanic crime and ritualistic abuse which are *types* of occult crime. As such, they are not representative of the broad category of criminal activities presumably associated with the occult.

3. The two most common *methods* of occult crime perpetrators are intermittent and experimental *dabbling* and repeated physical, sexual, psychological, and/or spiritual assaults utilizing *ritualism.* Ritualism is the true believer's tool; he or she does not dabble. Dabbling and ritualism are both used by the true criminal.

4. The two most common *motives* for perpetrating occult crime are those committed by true believers and true criminals: *true believers* commit ritualistic crimes because they are required as part of a spiritual belief system; *true criminals* commit any type of crime to satisfy physical, sexual, psychological, social, and/or economic needs rather than their spiritual beliefs.

5. While there is little evidence to link certain crimes directly to occult belief systems, law enforcers generally assume at least seven crimes may have some relation to the occult: trespassing, vandalism, theft, graffiti, arson, animal mutilation and sacrifice, and extortion. Another four crimes are the subject of debate in criminal justice circles: suicide, kidnapping, murder and human sacrifice, and ritualistic abuse.

6. Law enforcers and therapists are particularly concerned about the level of criminal involvement of the Youth Subculture Satanists. While some disagreement exists about the factors that propel them into Satanic activity and sometimes into Satanic crime, few disagree that these adolescents are most at-risk for dabbling and more serious entanglement in Satanism.

7. Ritualistic abuse, a *type* of occult crime alleged to be the special domain of Cult Satanists, is currently the most divisive issue within criminal justice circles. While few law enforcers debate either its existence or its increase, few agree about the extent of ritualistic crime committed specifically by Cult Satanists; the motivations of perpetrators; and the veracity of adult and child victims who claim to have survived ritualistic abuse at the hands of Cult Satanists.

8. The victimology of occult crime, especially ritualistic abuse, is an understudied and very controversial topic in both law enforcement and therapeutic circles.

Perhaps the most important point of this chapter is that the issue of occult crime is rife with several heated, emotional controversies. The major debates have been examined and the various "sides" have been explained. The investigator and therapist who deals with an alleged occult crime must, in essence, be an informed skeptic; that is, skeptical in the positive sense of the word. He or she must apply a healthy dose of skepticism when trying to unravel the controversies associated with occult crime. Indeed, to *always* take one approach over the other - to *always* believe an alleged occult crime is or is not part of a nationwide conspiracy; to *always* believe the perpetrator acted because of a commitment to an occult belief system *or* because he or she is truly a criminal; to *always* believe the victim is or is not telling the truth - gives the occult criminal the edge, ultimately hurts the victim, and undermines the investigative integrity of law enforcers.

Crimes Against Animals:
Where to Go for Help in California

For assistance with a suspected case of animal mutilation or sacrifice, contact any of the following:

California Association of Animal Control Officers
Post Office Box 804
Bellflower, CA 90706

Humane Society of the United States
Eric Sakach, Field Investigator, West Coast Regional Office
1713 J Street, Suite 211
Sacramento, CA 95814 (916) 447-3295

Long Beach, Department of Health and Human Services
Wayne M. Besenty, Senior Animal Control Officer
3001 E. Willow Street
Long Beach, CA 90806 (213) 595-5449

Los Angeles Society for the Prevention of
Cruelty to Animals
Toll-Free Hot Line (800) 540-SPCA

The Occult Debate: Issue #3
Definitions of Occult Crime - Necessary or Superfluous Categories?

Some law enforcers have recommended the creation of a new criminal category specifically called "occult crime," arguing that such a category is necessary to measure the actual extent of crime related to the occult. Other law enforcers have adamantly argued against the creation of such a category, claiming that an "occult crime" category would not only be superfluous, but that no precedent exists - nor should there be one - for creating a crime category based upon a specific belief system.

Hypothesis: ***In order to understand the extent and nature of occult criminal activity throughout the nation, law enforcement agencies should adopt a new criminal category specifically called "occult crime."*** Advocates argue that such a category will provide a greater understanding about occult crime, and many suggest that the FBI should create a new Uniform Crime Report category entitled "occult crime." Among the definitions suggested by advocates include:

"Occult crime involves a crime that is occult-motivated, involved with secret knowledge of an occult group and uses certain rituals to change physical science." Sergeant Richard Valdemar, Los Angeles Sheriff's Department (Valdemar interview , May 23, 1989).

"Occult crime is in some way motivated by a person's belief either in religion or in theory." Officer Kurt Jackson, Beaumont, California Police Department (Jackson interview, May 16, 1989).

"Occult crime is motivated by nontraditional or occult beliefs. It is commited to further an occult belief system." Lt. Larry Jones, Boise, Idaho Police Department and Director of Cult Crime Impact Network. (Jones interview, May 8, 1989.)

"Occult crime is any illegal activity in which the trappings of the occult are present." Journalist Larry Kahaner (Kahaner interview, April 11, 1989).

Hypothesis: ***Creating a new criminal category of "occult crime" is a superfluous and, perhaps, a dangerous precedent as it labels crimes with the name of the perpetrator's religion.*** Proponents argue that other crimes committed for professed religious reasons are not and should not be specifically labeled, nor should occult crime be so-labeled. Further, some proponents question the actual existence of occult crime as defined by the very law enforcers who wish to adopt a definition. Among the proponents of this viewpoint are:

Kenneth Lanning, Supervisory Special Agent for the FBI argues, "If a crime is committed as part of a spiritual belief system, it should make no difference which belief system it is. The crime is the same whether a child is abused or murdered as part of a Christian, Hare Krishna, Moslem, or any other belief system. We generally don't label crimes with the name of the perpetrator's religion. Why then are the crimes of child molesters, rapists, sadists, and murderers who happen to be involved in Satanism and the occult labeled as Satanic or occult crimes? If criminals use a spiritual belief system to justify or to further their criminal behavior, should the focus of law enforcement be on the belief system or the criminal activity?... The author would like to define a satanic murder as one committed by two or more individuals who rationally plan the crime and whose PRIMARY motivation is to fulfill a prescribed satanic ritual calling for the murder. By this definition, the author has been unable to identify even one documented satanic murder in the United States. Although such murders may have and can occur, they appear to be few in number." (Lanning, 1989:23-24.)

Robert Hicks, Criminal Justice Analyst for the Commonwealth of Virginia's Department of Criminal Justice Services, points out that "One doesn't condemn Christianity because Jim Jones and his group - all Christians - committed mass suicide or because the Pope spurred a murderous crusade in the Middle East some centuries ago. Whether or not people can get criminal ideas from belief systems - whether from Buddhism, Christianity, voodoo, Islam, or anything else - has little to do with the belief system but rather with a person's own psychological makeup. And in this realm the police have no jurisdiction. It is not a law enforcement responsibility to guess at what might prompt a citizen to commit a crime. Police arrest people who commit crimes under the influence of alcohol, but we don't blame the alcohol." (Hicks, 1989:11.)

The Occult Debate: Issue #4
Perpetrators of Ritualistic Abuse: Actions of True Believers or True Criminals?

While most law enforcers, therapists and actual victims of ritual abuse can agree upon a description of ritualistic abuse, many do not agree upon the perpetrator's motive. On the one hand, perpetrators are clearly perceived as true believers whose spiritual beliefs require them to commit such crimes. On the other hand, perpetrators are described as true criminals who ritually abuse primarily for sexual, economic, psychological, and/or social reasons, not necessarily for spiritual reasons; their so-called commitment to any *occult or cult* belief system is used to rationalize their ritualistic criminal involvement.

Hypothesis: Perpetrators are true believers.

These advocates define ritualistic abuse as repetitive sexual, physical and psychological actions perpetrated against children and/or adults *because they are Satanists and are preforming the crime as part of a Satanic ritual.* In other words, the motivation is one directly tied to the perpetrator's belief in Satanic theology. For example:

Dr. Lawrence Pazder defines ritualistic abuse *of children* as "repeated physical, emotional, mental, and spiritual assaults combined with a systematic use of symbols and secret ceremonies designed to turn a child against itself, family, society, and God...The sexual assault has ritualistic meaning and is not for sexual gratification." (Pazder, 1980.)

Susan J. Kelley, Ph.D. from the Boston College School of Nursing calls ritualistic abuse "repetitive and systematic sexual, physical, and psychological abuse of children by adults as part of cult or satanic worship." (Kelley, 1988:228.)

Hypothesis: Perpetrators are True Criminals.

Proponents of the true criminal theory feel that the vast majority of people who actually do commit crimes related to the occult do so for certain social, economic, sexual, physical and psychological reasons. They use their so-called commitment to the occult, especially Satanism, as a way to justify or rationalize their criminal behavior. For example:

Kenneth Lanning, a Special Agent with the FBI, feels the term ritualistic abuse is "confusing, misleading, and counterproductive" for law enforcement purposes. He states that "not all spiritually motivated ritualistic activity is satanic... In fact, most spiritually or religiously-based abuse of children has nothing to do with satanism. Most child abuse that could be termed ritualistic by various definitions is more likely to be physical and psychological rather than sexual in nature." (Lanning, 1989:11-13.)

Shawn Carlson, a physicist at the UC Berkeley Lawrence Laboratory and director of a two-year study conducted by the Committee for the Scientific Examination of Religion found that perpetrators of Satanic crimes committed over the past five years were largely mentally ill. Their spiritual motivations, in most cases, had very little to do with the commission of crime. (Carlson interview, October 1989.)

Inspector Earl Sanders of the San Francisco Police Department notes that SFPD's homicide division is seeing more occult-related crime, "but most of the perpetrators are really 'crazies' who also practice Satanism. We can't really tell how committed they are because of their psychopathic behavior." (Sanders Interview, May 10, 1989.)

The Occult Debate: Issue #5
The Extent of Ritualistic Abuse - National Conspiracy or National Hysteria?

Of all the controversies surrounding this issue, the actual extent of ritualistic abuse is perhaps the most heatedly debated. On the one hand are advocates of the national conspiracy theory who contend members of an organized network which is possibly national in character, regularly commit kidnappings, rape and ritual sacrifices (especially of children) in the name of Satan. On the other hand are supporters of the national hysteria theory who argue that because many people need to believe a Satanic conspiracy poses a real threat to America, they pass on unsubstantiated and undocumented information about alleged Satanists in the hope of saving the nation.

***Hypothesis:* Ritualistic abuse is a widespread problem which may even involve a national conspiracy.**

Advocates believe ritualistic abuse, especially committed against children is, at the very least, a common occurrence in communities across the nation and, at the very worst, a national conspiracy of epidemic proportions. During a professional meeting in the mid-1980s, the conspiracy theory gained credence when Dr. Al Carlisle of the Utah State Prison system estimated between 50,000 and 60,000 human sacrifices were committed annually in the United States. Proponents believe such crimes continue to occur because Satanists are often well-respected politicians, doctors, attorneys, priests, ministers, daycare providers and law enforcers who hide their heretical and criminal deeds behind a facade of professional respectability. Among the most heinous crimes they cite are rituals in which infants or small children are sacrificed, and cannabalistic, sexual and psychological rituals in which children are forced to participate. Proponents say physical evidence of such crimes are absent because the Satanists eat much of the flesh and have access to advanced disposal methods. The experiences related by adult and child victims provide enough evidence of ritualistic abuse to validate its widespread and conspiratorial dimensions.

Adult and child survivors of ritualistic abuse and many members of the law enforcement, therapeutic and/or Fundamentalist Christian communities support this viewpoint. For example:

Dr. Bennett Braun has personally worked with over 70 adults in 22 states with Multiple Personality Disorder (MPD) and has conducted two recent studies on data collected from 40 states. He estimates that of the approximate 200,000 Americans who suffer from MPD, up to one-fourth, or 50,000, could be victims of Satanic Ritual Abuse. (Braun and Sachs, 1988.)

Psychiatrist Roland Summit, whose subspecialty is child sexual abuse, calls ritual abuse of children "the most serious threat to children and to society that we must face in our lifetime." Dr. Summit's experiences point to "no less than 1,000 children who have stated their involvment in ritualistic systems." (Summit, October 26, 1988.)

Dr. Lawrence Pazder, psychiatrist, describes the motives and pervasiveness of ritualized abusers who are "normal-looking and carry on normal lives. They are members of every strata of society which they have carefully infiltrated. Any position of societal power or influence should be seen as a target for infiltration. The perpetrators have masses of money available. Many have impeccable credentials - doctors, ministers, professionals of every kind. " (Pazder, 1980.)

Mike Warnke, reformed Satanist and Director of Warnke Ministries, says "Satanists have infiltrated the system - government, law enforcement, the courts - and are responsible for creating and nourishing a nationwide and international network." (Warnke, as quoted in the videotape *America's Best Kept Secret,* 1986.)

Jaimee Karroll, author of an anthology of survivor experiences, helped conduct a survey of ritual abuse survivors in Canada and the U.S. By late 1988, the sponsoring agency, Healing Hearts, had received 85 responses from survivors. Additionally, throughout 1988 while working on the book, 108 survivors and 303 professionals contacted the agency; since 1988, she estimates that 10 professionals and 2-4 survivors continue to contact her each month. (Karroll, 1988.)

Survivor Joan Christianson has related her experiences to groups across the country. She "averages about 140 phone calls a month mostly from survivors. That means that in one year, I have received 1,680 phone calls and in the seven years that I have been doing this I have gotten 10,760 phone calls." (Christianson, 1988.)

Hypothesis: Ritualistic abuse is not a widespread problem of conspiratorial dimensions; rather, such rumors have been fueled by a national hysteria perpetrated for a wide variety of social and religious reasons.

Advocates of the national hysteria theory do not deny the existence of ritual abuse, but feel its dimensions and links to the occult have been blown out of proportion. Some advocates go a step futher, believing conspiracy advocates are victims of an "urban legend", a tale that spreads rapidly across the country with few changes in detail but which is almost impossible to trace to any actual event. Chief among their arguments are the following: If such crimes are widespread, where are the bodies; where is the physical evidence? Even if the bodies can be found, can the crimes be directly linked to the Satanic theology of true believers or are they really committed by psychopathic true criminals who use the occult for their own deviant purposes? Among the proponents are members of the criminal justice and academic communities (especially anthropologists and sociologists.) For example:

Sandi Gallant, veteran occult crime investigator from the San Francisco Police Department, submitted a report to the California Attorney General concluding, "While only a limited number of cases involving true ritual aspects have emerged, misunderstanding and misinterpretation of case indicators combined with cross-contamination and a hysterical response have allowed the issue to appear much more wide spread than it truly is. This has occurred not only within the State of California, but throughout the nation." (Gallant, 1988.)

Detective Michael O'Connor of the San Diego County Sheriff's Department has conducted hundreds of occult-related investigations, concluding that the "hard core Satanists" are usually members of small, closed groups opposed to networking. In fact, "networking among hard-core Satanists is very, very rare as Satanists make it clear they do not want everybody involved in their religion." (O'Connor Seminar, August 16, 1989.)

Kenneth Lanning, Supervisory Special Agent at the FBI Academy, contributes a cautionary warning, "Until hard evidence is obtained and corroborated, the American people should not be frightened into believing that babies are being eaten, that 50,000 missing children are being murdered in human sacrifices, or that satanists are taking over America's day care centers. No one can prove with absolute certainty that such activity has NOT occurred. The burden of proof, however, as it would be in a criminal prosecution, is on those who claim that it has occurred. As law enforcement agencies evaluate and decide what they can or should do about satanic and occult activity in their communities, they might also consider how to deal with the type and hysteria of the 'anti-satanists.' The overreaction to the problem can clearly be worse than the problem. An unjustified crusade against those perceived as satanists could result in wasted resources, unwarranted damage to reputations, and disruption of civil liberties." (Lanning, 1989:30-31.)

Anthropologist and Minister J. Gordon Melton feels much of the current hysteria is due to the "intense crisis within evangelical churches. Evangelical leaders need the devil as part of their authority structure. Without the devil, they don't have anybody to fight." Thus, many fundamentalist Christians have a stake in perpetuating a belief in a dangerous, national network of Satanists who threaten the religious underpinnings of American society. (Melton interview, March 1989.)

Sociologist Jeffrey Victor's extensive study of a Satanic cult said to be operating in Western New York found the so-called cult had never existed and instead, was the result of a rumor-panic and economic self-aggrandizement. Rumor panics, he concludes, occur in small towns and rural areas due to "collective anxieties caused by economic stress and family deterioration, affecting particularly young blue-collar families. The metaphorical language of the rumors tells the story of families whose world is falling apart and whose ideals are being threatened by evil forces. These underlying sources of stress are being inflamed by vested interests, which gain income, members or audiences by exaggerating fears about satanic group activities." (Victor, 1989:45-46.)

Executive Director of the Family Service Agency of San Francisco, Ira Okun, recently wrote, "In 1987, our agency served over 7,000 family members where one or more children were at risk of child abuse and neglect...An inventory of the caseload revealed not one verified case of satanic or suspected satanic abuse. Also, no staff could recall any cases from past years...I feel that ritualistic abuse is a popular media subject and I do not deny that it may exist, but the hunt for witches is diverting the state's attention from the more massive, problem of child abuse." (Okun, January 9, 1989.)

The Occult Debate: Issue #6
AdultVictims of Ritualistic Abuse - Survivors or Delusionaries?

The veracity has been questioned of an increasing number of adults who call themselves survivors of Satanic ritual abuse. Those who support the survivor theory believe survivors are raised within a Satanic group where they are ritualistically and repeatedly victimized, survive, and later leave the group where they continue their lives under the fear of discovery and death. Proponents of the delusionary theory believe those who claim to have survived Satanic ritualized abuse are really disturbed, delusionary people who adopted Satanic fantasies for a variety of reasons.

***Hypothesis:* Survivors are victims of ritualistic abuse who have "survived" to tell their stories.**

Proponents believe survivor descriptions of intrafamilial and extrafamilial ritualistic abuse which they feel pose a threat to the social and spiritual fabric of American life. Among the primary survivor claims are that victims are either born into the group, obtained for the group's use, or are actively recruited into a coven; no physical evidence can be found because perpetrators use ritual dismemberment, cannibalism and group-controlled crematoriums to dispose of bodies; some women are forced to become breeders, conceiving undocumented children who are then sacrificed or bred for other group purposes; the groups continue to flourish because they are protected by members who have infiltrated every level of society and government and because they are breeding new members to infiltrate the next generation of professionals; those who leave must go into hiding to avoid being murdered by members of the group.

Psychiatrist Roland Summit feels the "strongest corroboration of the reality of ritual abuse comes from an increasing number of adult survivors." (Summit, 1988:6.)

Lieutenant Larry Jones of the Boise Police Department and Director of CCIN, the Cult Crime Impact Network, believes that those who discredit the claims of ritualistic abuse are "full of garbage! We have recovered ritually killed babies in Connecticut, Bend, Oregon and in Los Angeles...when you add to that the credible testimony of the survivors which can be circumstantially verified, there can be very little question." (Jones interview, May 8, 1989.)

Counselor Sharon Jackson with the Christian counseling group, Motivation Unlimited, says survivors offer the best intelligence if "you help them separate truth from fear - they are rightfully paranoid...The problem is that mental health usually prods the victim, tainting much of the badly-needed, pristine information for law enforcement." (Jackson interview, May 16, 1989.)

***Hypothesis:* Because there is no physical evidence to support "survivor" stories, many alleged victims may actually be disturbed, delusionary people who have adopted Satanic fantasies for any number of reasons.**

Proponents believe self-proclaimed survivors were physically, sexually, and/or psychologically abused as children - but not by members of organized Satanic cults. Survivor belief in Satanic ritualistic abuse was, instead, obtained through inadvertent therapist coaching and reading books by other survivors. Their skepticism is based upon several things that make it impossible for law enforcers to use survivor experiences: no survivor has produced any physical evidence of their claims; some victims' stories are inconsistently related from setting to setting; many self-proclaimed survivors are victims of Multiple Personality Disorder (MPD) who have an incomplete and sometimes inaccurate perception of reality; therapists are trained to believe their clients, not to check their veracity; some therapists inadvertently suggest information to clients that are built into their sense of reality. Among these proponents are:

Psychiatric Anthropologist Mulhern from the University of Paris has studied many survivor cases and has examined some of the psychiatric records of Michelle Smith's sessions with Dr. Pazder. She claims Smith's memories were "contaminated" by Pazder's suggestions of Satanic involvement. Further, she says that in hypnotic therapy, the hynotizer has difficulty avoiding suggestive material. If suggestion is used, when the patient comes out of the trance, he or she "will have an unshakeable belief" in the story constructed during the session, regardless of whether it is reality or fantasy. In most cases, Mulhern feels the survivor stories most often represent fantasy. (As quoted in Nathan, 1989.)

Dr. Richard Ofshe, UC Berkeley Sociology professor, provides expert testimony in occult and cult related cases across the nation. He claims many therapists "come from a Fundamentalist Christian perspective and are ideologically driven to find that their patient has been a 'survivor' of Satanic abuse. Through their suggestions, clients can unintentionally develop a whole new personality, an unremembered identity." Additionally, Ofshe contends, "some clients who are especially insecure will continue to tell their therapists about Satanic abuse because they know it is pleasing to their therapist." (Ofshe interview, May 10, 1989.)

The Occult Debate: Issue #7
Child Victims of Ritualistic Crime - Abused or Indoctrinated?

As Jon Conte, President of the American Professional Society on the Abuse of Children recently remarked, believing or not believing the children who claim they are victims of occult-related ritualistic abuse has polarized the therapeutic community. "It's become a litmus test. If you believe, you're for kids; if you're not, your motivation is wanting." On the one side are those who believe the children have been ritualistically abused and their stories are accurate depictions of such abuse. On the other side are those who don't necessarily think they are lying, but rather, they believe the children have been indoctrinated by untrained and/or overzealous therapists and through media accounts of ritual abuse.

Hypothesis: ***Child survivors have been ritualistically abused by Satanic groups.*** Proponents are vociferous in their support of the child victims, claiming that until children can be considered reliable, ritual abuse will continue to flourish. For example:

Dr. Roland Summit says "there is *no* scientific support for the notion that children conjure up elaborate accounts of victimization to please their examiners... no logical basis for the presumption that children are so perceptive and so imaginative that they can take the cue from a question or an anatomically specific doll and then draw from the examiner's mind an explicit narrative of the most unheard-of and exotic perversities, including patterns of adult behavior not only unknown to children but to most clinicians as well. Any logical support for the indoctrination theory must explain how these exotic stories, unfamiliar even to the examiners, prove to match the best available knowledge of cult activities drawn from such diverse sources as ancient documents and the accounts of adult survivors of rituals practiced on an earlier generation of children. And if it *were* possible for examiners to cue children into false accounts, why would these examiners induce stories which they couldn't themselves believe, and which they knew would be unbelievable to their supervisors?" (Summit, 1988.)

Therapist Noel Plourde has worked with over 100 individual child victims of multi-victims, multi-perpetrators situations and over 200 individuals involved in therapy and support groups dealing with the same problem. She believes the problem is widespread, "although not prevalent in every community" and that the children must be believed because "of the nature of their disclosures and their effect, particularly the level of ongoing fear that is found in these children." While there is little physical evidence, a great deal of "emotional evidence exists that matches the disclosure content." (Plourde interview, May 18, 1989.)

Joy Byers, with the National Committee for the Prevention of Child Abuse, recently told a journalist that "children don't have the expertise that would give them the knowledge that they could make up stories of sexual abuse, sexual acts." (Charlier, 1988.)

Hypothesis: ***Children who claim they have been ritualistically abused by Satanic groups have been indoctrinated by untrained and/or overzealous therapists and through media accounts of ritual abuse.*** Proponents believe the children have been misled by emotionally-involved therapists or by unsubstantiated "urban legends" passed down through the media. These proponents aim much of their criticism at the therapeutic community, claiming not that therapists are incompetent, but that they are either untrained or too biased to treat children who are allegedly ritualistically abused. For example:

Kenneth Lanning of the FBI feels many therapists have not had adequate experience with severely traumatized children or those abused by multiple offenders who threatened them with violence or death to control them. Some "tend not be very objective; they are too emotionally involved." Further, because of the lack of well-researched materials on the topic, therapists use manuals "written by law enforcement officers" which are too often full of inaccuracies, perceptions and opinions rather than facts. (Lanning Interview, April 1989.)

Child Psychiatrist Lee Coleman believes some children are "literally being trained by professionals to believe they have been molested... Children seldom 'lie' about such things, but they may be manipulated by adults into believing things that never happened." After reviewing 200 hours of interview tapes with children suspected of being molested, Dr. Coleman found a clear pattern. "The interviewers assume, before talking with the child, that molestation has taken place. The accused persons are assumed to be guility, and the thinly disguised purpose of the interview is to get something out of the child to confirm these suspicions...I see children so horribly manipulated by our investigative system that they begin to believe what interviewers keep suggesting to them, even to the point of creating in their little minds murders which never took place, and - yes - imagining satanic cults." (Coleman, 1986.)

Psychiatrist G. Christian Harris, President of the Seattle Chapter of the American Psychiatric Association, warns that therapists are often "too gullible," are willing to "hop on the bandwagon" without adequate training, and that because their training teaches them to listen to and believe patients, they are ill-equipped to make judgments about evidence and truth. (as quoted in Gerlernter, 1989.)

CHAPTER THREE
INVESTIGATING OCCULT CRIME: THE LAW ENFORCEMENT PERSPECTIVE

Law enforcers are in a unique and certainly not enviable position in regard to occult crime. They must deal with an issue that is highly emotional and spiritual in nature - yet, they cannot afford to let their emotions or spiritual convictions enter into the lawful response required by their profession. Clearly, as the preceding two chapters indicate, law enforcers must focus their attention on *the criminal act*, not on the perpetrator's belief system. In short, he or she must *listen* to complainants, not *believe* them.

Indeed, as FBI Supervisory Special Agent Kenneth Lanning has remarked "As difficult as it might be, police officers must separate the religious and law enforcement perspectives when they are lecturing or investigating in their official capacities as law enforcement officers...The religious beliefs of officers should provide spiritual strength and support for them, but not affect the objectivity and professionalism of the investigation." (Lanning, 1989:19-20.) Thus, they should "stick to the Constitutional basics" by "investigating irregular behavior based on a well-founded and legally-defined reasonable suspicion and arresting based on probable cause." (Hicks, June 1989:26.)

Any crime requires an objective assessment, and occult crime is no exception. Nonetheless, few contemporary issues have so confounded and divided the law enforcement community than that of occult crime. This chapter seeks to alleviate the confusion and mitigate the divisive factors. As such, it identifies the barriers to dealing with occult crime; examines the roles law enforcers must assume in regard to occult crime; and provides the law enforcement community with resources for further information and assistance.

Barriers to Law Enforcement Involvement in Occult Crime

Before any law enforcement officer comes face-to-face with allegations or actual instances of occult-related crime, he or she should be aware of the wide array of barriers discussed below which can and often will confuse and even overwhelm law enforcement functions.

First, criminal justice practitioners and therapists familar with occult groups sharply disagree about many issues surrounding occult crime. Among the most heatedly-debated points, as Chapters One and Two illustrate, are the actual extent of occult crime, the motives of occultists involved in criminal activity, and the veracity of self-professed "survivors". Not surprisingly, such disagreement will affect any law enforcement approach to an alleged occult-related criminal incident.

Second, many law enforcement agencies are unclear about how to actually handle an alleged occult crime case. Likely questions faced by any department include: Should law enforcers handle the crime differently than any other crime? What resources should be devoted to training officers and providing specialized knowledge about occult crime? And perhaps most importantly, what are the appropriate roles for law enforcers to play in a crime that may have religious connotations? Indeed, because most occult activities are protected under the First Amendment guaranteeing freedom of religion, many law enforcement agencies are reluctant to pursue the occult factor during any phase of an investigation.

Third, traditional intelligence operations do not work very well with occultists. Because occult groups have been historically persecuted for their beliefs, most ceremonies and rituals are highly secretive and, therefore, difficult to penetrate. However, the biggest barrier to traditional intelligence is that most occultists require all group members to participate in their rituals. In most cases, law enforcers would be morally and legally prohibited from such participation.

Fourth, many people both within and without law enforcement circles are either skeptical about the existence of occult activities or absolutely deny the existence of any criminal links. While a certain amount of skepticism may actually be beneficial to an investigation, such skepticism can also prohibit an investigation from getting "off the ground."

Fifth, the law enforcer's own personal and spiritual belief system may inhibit an objective handling of the case. Investigating crimes that are both morally and spiritually repugnant - such as grave robberies, church desecration, and ritualistic abuse - may prevent the law enforcer from objectively handling evidence and may make him or her overly fearful of involvement in this type of case.

Sixth, law enforcers who receive specialized training in occult crime may become what some people have called "oversensitized" to this type of criminal activity. The possibility increases that he or she will *expect* an occult encounter, and when confronted with unexpected or inexplicable information, may interpret it along the new lines of expectations.

Seventh, law enforcement investigators may spend a great deal of time linking the commission of a crime to an occult belief system, only to find the prosecutor and/or an expert witness recommending the link be ignored or discredited in a jury trial. In many cases where occult links have been alleged, prosecutors are not presenting such ties to the juries, arguing such evidence is circumstantial at best and that juries simply will not accept the existence of such evil-minded crimes.

Any investigator faced with an alleged occult crime must be prepared to face these barriers and to devise some sort of strategy to overcome each hurdle as it arises.

The Law Enforcement Role

So just what are the law enforcer's roles in regard to occult crime? The major occult-related law enforcement roles can be logically placed into two functional categories of policing: maintaining order and enforcing the law.

- Maintaining order - law enforcers may be called upon to provide a *protection role* to maintain the public order.

- Enforcing the law - law enforcers may be involved in an *investigation role* to enforce the law and help bring a suspect to trial.

Protection Role

As bizarre as it may seem to some law enforcers, they may be called upon to provide security for an occult ceremonial gathering if members have been threatened, persecuted or intimidated by other citizens. Such requests are rare primarily because most occultists - especially Satanists and Cultural Spiritualists - generally meet in secret locations which are rarely known to either the general public or law enforcement. It is somewhat more common for law enforcers to provide such protection for Neo-Pagan festivals which sometimes are held in communities where citizens are radically opposed to the belief and behavior systems of the celebrants. In these cases, it becomes the law enforcer's job to protect the peace of the greater community by "keeping the lid" on any potential confrontations between participants and citizens who may misunderstand and fear the event and what it represents.

The protection role can and does present a real problem for some law enforcers.

First, if they are unfamilar with the belief systems of the particular group, their law enforcement role and possible actions may be tainted by personal perceptions, and perhaps, by the misunderstanding and fear shared by other citizens.

Second, if they are familiar with, but morally and/or spiritually opposed to, the group's belief system, their actions also run the risk of being subjectively tainted.

At least one recent study examined police perceptions of persons with occult belief systems as well as the perceptions of such practitioners about the police, finding that "we have a situation in which two antagonistic groups are perceiving each other through a morass of expectations and associated legends. Their preconceptions of each other consequently influence their actions in regard to the other, and their interpretations of the opposing group's behavior." (Guinee, 1987:16.) The accompanying box provides an example of how such misinterpretation and misinformation can be blown out of proportion, thus becoming a major law enforcement problem.

So what should law enforcers do in this situation? The options presented below are strikingly similar to those available to law enforcers involved with any gathering of activists —Ku Klux Klan, the American Nazi Party, or gay rights activists—whose belief systems and behavior may cause the greater community to react fearfully and perhaps criminally.

First and foremost, if a law enforcer's personal religious convictions conflict with those of the group he or she is assigned to protect, then it is his or her professional obligation to decide whether they can objectively handle the case.

Second, if the assigned officers have enough lead time prior to the event, they can learn about the group's beliefs, behaviors, symbols, and rituals. Such information can be quickly gained from several sources: another officer in the department who has attended an occult training seminar; a phone call to a law enforcement specialist in another jurisdiction or to a specializing organization (see the resource section at the end of this chapter for such individuals); or direct but friendly contact with a member of the group in which the officer states his or her educational rather than enforcement mission.

Third, again if time is available and if the community is one in which this approach would "work", the department can sponsor a community meeting inviting interested members to learn and ask questions about the group's belief system, activities, symbols and rituals to try and dispell fears and possible confrontations, as well as contain rumors.

Investigation Role

Since occult crime has only recently become a specialized area of criminal activity, law enforcers are gradually learning how to approach an investigation. Thus, there are some important points to keep in mind prior to conducting any investigation.

First, investigators are obligated to address the issue of the perpetrator's occult affiliation *only if it is clear that the crime was committed in direct relation to his or her belief system.*

Second, as veteran investigator Sandi Gallant says, there is really only one thing that "has become abundantly clear" about occult crime investigation: "traditional investigative responses have not provided clear cut answers in these cases." (Gallant, 1988.) In other words, if traditional methods of investigation are used, law enforcers get locked into traditional responses. Officer Gallant suggests that law enforcers have to

Antagonistic Viewpoints: A Law Enforcement Problem

Folklorist William Guinee studied the reactions of the law enforcement, religious, and pagan communities to a "pan pagan festival" sponsored by the Elf Lore Family (ELF) and attended by about 140 Neo-Pagans between September 20-22, 1985 in Yellowwood Forest near Nashville, Tennessee. Law enforcers assigned to provide security did not receive pre-festival preparation or education, nor did the ELF family try to educate or allay possible law enforcement prejudices. Guinee's study illustrates how the preconceptions of each group influences the other groups' actions, ultimately causing problems within the community that may have been avoided.

Reactions to the Event...

"ELF customarily doesn't advertise the location of its festivals until very late to avoid the arrival of too many people who have not registered and to avoid harassment by the police. This secrecy was interpreted as suspicious by the police, and their suspicions were reconfirmed by the presence of people in robes, unusual symbols, and dancing around a fire. The response of the police to this information was to carefully monitor the activities of the gathering from a distance. This observation was interpreted by members of ELF as harassment and the impression was reinforced by the policemen's fear of getting too close to the gathering...

Members of Pastor James Brown's congregation became so concerned about the 'Satan worshippers' in the forest that they took what they considered to be a humane and Christian action. They decided to illuminate the pagans to the dangers of having converse with the Devil...Out of a very large stock of religious literature, they chose two tracts which whey felt were particularly applicable to the current situation: 'Satan; the god of this world' and 'The Burning Hell: Tortured Lost Souls Burning Forever!' The Baptists then...drove rapidly past the campsite, which was right next to the road, and threw the tracts out the window. The neo-paganists didn't respond favorably to this action. As one of them told me 'we hate having people say that we are damned.' Furthermore, the ELF family professses a tremendous concern for the environment and their handout warned participants not to litter...So the neo-pagans picked up the tracts and threw them in the fire...The burning of religious tracts could not have been favorably interpreted by the watching Baptists...

The interaction between neo-pagans, Christians, and the police was consistently motivated by preconceptions, and served only to further validate those preconceptions on all sides. Each side seemed to participate only in a world of their own creation. Without intending to do so, each group reconfirmed the antagonism of their rivals."

Accounts of Neo-Pagan Activity

"All accounts have certain features in common: there were a large number of people in the park for the weekend; they played music; they stood in a large circle around a fire; symbols were displayed by at least some of those present. Beyond these minimal features there seems to be only disagreement.

Deputy Walls noticed a large number of specific occurrences which he interpreted as signifying practices of devil worship. Walls saw people drinking blood, eating raw meat, dancing around the flames naked in a triple wedding ceremony, wearing devil-like costumes and having a ceremony with burning candles in the graveyard...

Conservation Officer Dave Phelps, Walls' colleague, saw almost none of these things. The most he saw was a large group of people holding hands, dancing, and yelling around a large fire. Phelps had very few complaints with the group: they should have covered over their fire pit a little better when they left; they may have been slightly too noisy after the park's quiet hour of 11:00 p.m. Phelps specifically states that he never felt that the participants were engaged in Satanism...

Pastor James Brown also saw some things which he interpreted as suspicious. He saw people dressed in red and black outfits, a six-sided star in a circle, three scantily clad women, and something which might have been a candle on a tombstone. Brown also saw the performances of what he calls 'their services'...and concluded that the power behind such gatherings must be satanic...

Terry Whitefeather, leader of ELF, absolutely denies the presence of several of the items described by Walls such as the eating of raw meat, drinking of blood, and naked dancing. Whitefeather denies the charges of 'Satanism' which he claims is only a perversion of Christianity and has nothing to do with his group at all."

Source: William Guinee, "Satanism in Yellowwood Forest: The Interdependence of Antagonistic Worldviews." *Indiana Folklore and Oral History*, Vol. 16, No. 1 (January-June 1987):3-5; 15-17.

"think as the perpetrator would think; you need to recognize that logical/rational thinking will not work. This is *your* state of mind, but not that of the perpetrators." (Gallant interview, April 3, 1989.)

Third, as Michael O'Connor of the San Diego Sheriff's Department states, "Don't ever investigate alone. This is no time to be macho. It is wise to remember, these people are smart and they can definitely outsmart us!" (O'Connor Seminar, August 16, 1989.)

Fourth, without some understanding of occult belief systems and rituals, the crime scene investigator will be at a loss. As Sgt. Richard Valdemar of the Los Angeles Sheriff's Department relates, "It's like taking a notebook to a murder scene and not writing down the essential information because you just plain missed it! The average detective is going to miss a lot because he's not familar with the information." (Valdemar, May 23, 1989.)

Once the investigator is aware of these points, then he or she is ready to embark upon a series of investigatory strategies.

Investigatory Strategies

Currently, many "occult investigators" have identified at least four primary keys to investigations that may contribute to a successful prosecution: recognizing occult symbols and rituals at the crime scene; compiling a comprehensive search warrant that may lead to further physical evidence; conducting a carefully planned investigation of an alleged occult crime; and planning and implementing a specific investigation strategy for ritualistic child abuse crimes related to the occult. The following investigative suggestions within each of these four areas represents the combined knowledge many experienced "occult cops" shared with the author.

Recognizing Occult Symbols and Rituals at the Crime Scene

If the on-scene investigator is called to an alleged occult crime, there are several important points he or she must keep in mind:

- At least one crime scene investigator should be familiar with the outward, physical symbols used in various occult rituals.

- If no one in the department has investigated an alleged occult crime, the participation of an outside law enforcement consultant should be obtained.

- The investigator is not responsible for interpreting the meaning of any symbols; he or she only records their existence at the crime scene.

- Finding any or all clues listed in this study does not prove a link between occult activity and occult-motivated crime.

Law enforcers who have investigated occult crimes find that the following *general* clues indicate the possibility that some kind of occult ritual may have been involved in the crime. Again, to ascertain the possibility of an actual occult connection, other professional expertise should be obtained.

Occult Crime Scene Clues

An alleged occult crime scene should not be handled any differently than other crime scenes. Thus, although the crime scene clues offered below are not much different than those recruits learn at the academy, they are included as a basic investigatory review tool.

At the scene of any crime, the following items and symbols will provide clues to possible occult involvement.

Crime Scene Clues - Outside or Inside

- animal bodies that have been mutilated;
- human bodies that have been decapitated, mutilated, or branded with symbols;
- human and animal organs that have been removed, such as the head, heart, tongue, eyes and digits;
- human and animal bodies that have been drained of blood or cannibalized;
- waxes, powders, oils on or around a body or crime scene area;
- religious artifacts such as altars, candles, chalices;
- symbols such as inverted crosses, pentagrams, inverted pentagrams;
- a circle, eight feet in diameter which may or may not contain a pentagram;
- graffiti and the use of specific colors included in any symbols;
- messages written in blood.

Crimes Scene Clues - Inside

- bottles of small vials of what may appear to be blood, found in refrigerator;
- hypodermic needles used to remove blood from animals and humans;
- animal or human body parts, found in freezers;
- occult books;
- handwritten occult essays or poetry;
- writings in a non-discernable alphabet;
- handmade drawings of occult symbols;
- drawings or photographs of victims;
- calendars with peculiar days marked;
- computer bulletin boards tied to the occult.

Occult-Related Homicide Crime Scene Clues

The following questions should be addressed in an alleged occult-related homicide. Pictures and notations should be taken of anything that is considered significant.

- What is the location of the cadaver?
- What is the physical position of the cadaver?

Law Enforcement Officers with Expertise in Satanic Crime

The following law enforcement officers have conducted investigations related to the occult. Some officers have specialized knowledge in certain areas which are indicated in parenthesis.

Officer Timothy B. Boyle
Public Information Officer
Maryland National Capitol Park Police
Silver Springs, MD 20906 (301) 949-8010
(Experience with juvenile practitioners)

Sergeant Randy Emon
Baldwin Park Police Department
14403 East Pacific Avenue
Baldwin Park, CA 91706 (818) 960-4011
(*Director, Christian Officers Investigation Network)

Officer Sandi Gallant, Special Investigations
San Francisco Police Department
850 Bryant Street
San Francisco, CA 94103 (415) 553-1133
(Conducts training seminars)

Detective Kurt Jackson
Beaumont Police Department
660 Orange Avenue
Beaumont, CA 92223 (714) 845-1161

Lt. Larry Jones
Boise Police Department, Criminal Investigation
7200 Barrister Drive
Boise, ID 83704 (208) 377-6606
(Director, Cult Crime Investigators Network)

Kenneth Lanning, Supervisory Special Agent
Federal Bureau of Investigation, FBI Academy
Quantico, VA 22135 (703) 640-1191
(Ask for a copy of his paper, *Satanic, Occult, Ritualistic Crime: Law Enforceent Perspective.)*

Officer Rick Martinez
Fountain Valley Police Department
10200 Slater Avenue
Fountain Valley, CA 92708 (714) 965-4486
(Conducts training seminars)

Detective Patrick Metoyer
Criminal Conspiracy Section
Los Angeles Police Department
150 N. Los Angeles Street
Los Angeles, CA 90012 (213) 485-2962

Detective Michael O'Connor
San Diego Sheriff's Dept., Juvenile Services
3240 Main Street
Lemon Grove, CA 92045 (619) 441-4034

Sgt. Richard Valdemar
Los Angeles Sheriff's Department
11515 Colima Road
Whittier, CA 90604
(213) 946-7131

The following individuals have conducted research about Satanic activity and/or crime.

Dr. David Bromley
Department of Sociology/Anthropology
Virginia Commonwealth University, Box 2040
Richmond, VA 23284 (804) 367-1026

Robert Hicks, Criminal Justice Analyst
Law Enforcement Section
Dept. of Criminal Justice Services
Commonwealth of Virginia
805 East Broad Street
Richmond, VA 23219 (804) 786-8421
(Former police officer)

Dr. Martin Sanchez Jankowski, Professor
Department of Sociology
University of California
Berkeley, CA 94720 (415) 642-4297

Larry Kahaner
P.O. Box 2732
Alexandria, VA 22301 (202) 548-1532
(author, *Cults That Kill)*

Stephen E. Squire
Librarian
Dept. of Criminal Justice Services
Commonwealth of Virginia
805 East Broad Street
Richmond, VA 23219 (804) 786-8478

Dr. Jeffrey Victor, Dept. of Anthropology
University of Buffalo, 380 MFAC
Ellicott Complex
Buffalo, NY 14261 (716) 636-2414

- Are any parts missing from the cadaver?
- Is the cadaver dressed or undressed?
- Does the cadaver have any cuts, slashes, teeth marks, or stab wounds? How many? Is there a particular pattern?
- Are there any tattoos or ink marks on the cadaver and are they any particular pattern or color?
- Has the cadaver been painted with any substance or spray paint and is the paint a particular color?

- Has the cadaver been branded or burned and is there a particular pattern?
- Are there any jewelry, charms, stones, talismen or amulets on or near the cadaver?
- Is there any evidence that jewelry is missing from the cadaver?
- Is there any colored string near the cadaver?
- Are there any occult ritual items or artifacts on or near the cadaver?
- Are there any oils, incense, perfumes, or potions poured or rubbed on the body?
- Are there any candle wax drippings on or near the cadaver? In any particular location, color and number?
- Are there any animal or human feces on the upper part of the cadaver, and is there any evidence such substances have been consumed?
- Is there evidence that hands or feet have been tied or shackled?
- Is there any sign of semen on or near the cadaver?

While they are not within the jurisdiction of an on-the-scene officer, four other signs should be checked during the autopsy:

- Is there evidence of urine, feces, drugs, wine or other substances having been ingested?
- Is there evidence that smoke, water or blood has been collected in the lungs?
- Is blood absent from the cadaver?
- Is there any sign of semen in the cadaver?

Symbols Used by Various Occult Practitioners

The presence of symbols *specific* to an occult belief system may indicate that rituals were used by Neo-Pagan, Wiccan, *Santerian, Palo Mayombe*, or Satanic practitioners.

Rituals and Symbols Used by Pagans and Wiccans

As mentioned above, Neo-Pagans and Wiccans as a group rarely are involved in criminal activity directly connected to their beliefs. This, however, does not preclude the need for law enforcers to be familiar with their basic symbols and rituals; indeed, such familiarity may be even more important because it can help eliminate certain suspects during an occult investigation. The primary symbols and rituals involved in many Neo-Pagan and Wiccan covens are described in the box, "Casting the Wiccan Circle."

Rituals and Symbols Used in Santeria

The primary problem *Santeria* presents for law enforcers is the absence of standardized ceremonies or rituals. The only known ritual and ceremonial consistency is that altars of some sort are set up in homes where rites consisting of one or two people take place, or ceremonies consisting of two or more people occur. In essense, the rituals are of each *santero's* own making. He or she uses different animals and interprets the needs and orders of the *orishas* as they see fit; there is no consistency.

Thus, animal remains are difficult if not impossible to relate to a particular ritual or ceremony. According to specialist Marc Paulhus of the Humane Society of the United States, "Nobody can reliably look at animal remains and make an interpretation. No *santero* can interpret the sacrificial remains of another *santero.* Anyone who tells you any differently is kidding himself." (Paulhus, August 16, 1989.)

What law enforcers can do, however, is learn which ritualistic items are most often used in rites and ceremonies:

- herbs, roots, flowers;
- pieces of fruit, especially coconut, oranges and apples;
- parts of Ceiba tree, or palm and cedar substitutions;
- clothing in colors preferred by the *orishas;*
- pennies in multiples of seven;
- sacrificial animals and birds;
- animal blood and feathers;
- body oils;
- sea shells;
- corn kernels;
- iron tools.

The particular colors, symbols and sacrificial foods required to propitiate the *Santerian* gods are explained in the *Syncretisms Compared* table.

Rituals and Symbols Used In Palo Mayombe

Rituals performed by the *Mayombero* always occur in private settings, sometimes in the home and sometimes outdoors. Unlike *Santeria,* the ritual symbols and signs are kept outdoors in a shed or garage rather than in the home. If this is not possible, the objects are placed in an isolated area (closet or garage) not immediately visible and always apart from any *Santeria* symbols. The item most often used in a *Palo Mayombe* ritual is the iron cauldron or *nganga*:

> "The sacred cauldron contains human bones (invariably a human skull, with or without long bones as well), sticks from the forest or wood, various herbs, feathers, railroad spikes, animal bones (skulls or other bones of various birds and sometimes turtles), small iron agricultural tools (rakes, picks, hoes, etc.), sacred stones, and other items which may be of special significance to the *palero.* The most important of these items are the sacred stones and the human skull...The *nganga* contains other items which have ritual signifiance. Gunpowder, *fula* is used for divination purposes by placing small amounts in a row and observing how they burn. Sulfur is commonly used as an incense during the practice of malevolent sorcery. *Azogue* (quicksilver or mercury) is another important component since its ease of flow and movement is believed to vitalize and energize the *nganga.* Mercury is also used in conjunction with vulture feathers and the skull to produce madness in an enemy. Ashes form another integral part of the *nganga* and are used for purification (when rubbed on the hands) and for defensive or aggressive magic." (Wetli and Martinez, 1983.)

Casting the Wiccan Circle

Law enforcers who examine the scene of a ritual where an alleged crime may have occurred should be aware of the rituals and symbols used during the legal worship services of Wiccans and some Pagans. While Wiccans across the world worship in many different ways, one ritual commences all Wiccan worship — casting the Circle in which the sabbat takes place. Some of the words vary from coven to coven, but the same basic elements of casting and closing exist in all traditions. The circle is cast in a quiet, secluded location which is often outdoors. Services are conducted within the circle to keep unwanted forces out and to keep the desired forces and powers in. The following description has been adapted from Kerr Cuhulain's booklet, *Law Enforcement Guide to Wicca*. (Colorado Springs: CultWatch Response, Inc., 1989).

"A typical Circle is oriented to the cardinal points of the compass. The four traditional elements of Earth, Air, Fire and Water are represented on the altar and assigned cardinal points. Some traditions may vary slightly in which element they assign to each particular cardinal point. All of the coveners generally purify themselves before entering the Circle. This is normally accomplished by taking a bath in consecrated water containing a little salt.

Any Witch can cast a Circle anywhere. If a group of Wiccan gather for a ritual then one person will normally perform the task. In some traditions, the High Priestess casts the Circle, but may be assisted by others; sometimes a guest from another coven is given this honor. In traditions that share leadership between Priestess and Priest, the season or occasion might dictate whose duty it is to cast the Circle. The person casting the circle will first consecrate each of the four elements, starting with Fire (usually a candle) and proceeding on to Air (incense), Water, and Earth (usually salt).

Next, the person casting will trace the perimeter of the Circle with the Sword, an Athame, or a Wand, depending on the tradition. If others are to enter later, this person will leave a gap in the Northeast by raising the tool used as if tracing an arch or doorway. Next the person casting will go to each of the cardinal points and ask the Gods (or Guardians) to witness and protect the ritual. Often this person will trace an invoking pentagram in the air with an athame or the fingers. They will start in the East and work clockwise around the Circle. They will then take each of the four elements from the altar and make a circuit of the Circle, consecrating it with each element in turn, always in a clockwise direction.

If the coveners are not already in the Circle, they now enter through the 'doorway' left open earlier. After everyone has entered, the person casting seals this 'door' by drawing a line across it with their ritual tool to complete the Circle, sometimes adding a pentagram. The ritual to be performed is now commenced, its content depending upon the nature of the Sabbat being celebrated. Afterwards, a thanksgiving ceremony is performed, in which cakes and wines are consecrated and shared around. This is <u>not</u> to be confused with the Christian ritual of transubstantiation; Wiccans do not transform the cakes and wine, we merely share them to give thanks for the bounty of the harvest, the gifts of Mother Earth.

When the ritual work is completed, the person who cast the Circle will close or 'ground' the circle by making a clockwise circuit, starting in the East as always, and thanking the Gods (or Guardians) at each cardinal point. They may trace a banishing pentacle in the air."

Thus, the symbols most commonly found at a Wiccan and sometimes Pagan ritual would be the circle and the pentacle which represents the earth. The worshippers' tools consist of candles (usually white); salt; a cup representing or filled with water; a wand representing the air; a sword representing fire; incense or perfume to consecrate the water.

Rituals and Symbols Used In Satanism

Very little is actually known about Satanic rituals for two primary reasons: the services of religious Satanists are open only to members; and self-styled and traditional/cult Satanists almost always devise their own individual or group rituals which are not shared with other groups or individuals. Although the following symbols have appeared in some alleged and actual Satanic-related crimes, it is important to remember that finding any or all of such symbols does not substantiate a link between occult activity and an occult crime.

- altar upon which stones or other implements are placed;
- black candles and incense;
- robes, detached hoods;
- inverted cross, serpent, serpent with horns;
- skull with eyes hollowed out and red stones, rubies, or candles placed in the sockets;
- black widow spider with a diamond on the top and bottom;
- tattoos (black widow, skull and cross bones, serpents, knife with dripping blood, black rose, Satan's name).
- animal cadavers and/or body parts;
- human cadavers and/or body parts;
- human or animal blood;
- wax drippings on the cadaver and/or in body orifices;
- slashes or cuts in patterns on the cadaver.

Syncretisms Compared:
The Gods and Saints of *Palo Mayombe, Santeria* and Catholicism

Gods of *Palo Mayombe*	*Orishas* of *Santeria*	Description, Symbols and Sacrificial Foods	Catholic Saints
Tata Legua, Nkuyu	*Eleggua*	A trickster god who controls roads, gates and communication. **Symbols:** Alternating red & black beads; clay image with face made of cowrie shells. **Foods:** white chicken, rooster, opossum	Holy Guardian Angel, Christ Child, St. Anthony of Padua
Mama Nsasi, Nkita Nkitan Kitan	*Chango*	Warrior deity who controls thunder, lightning and fire. **Symbols:** alternating red and white beads, sword, double-edged axe. **Foods:** rooster, sheep, goat, pig, bull.	Saint Barbara
Mama Kengue, Yola, Yeye	*Obatala*	King of the saints/*santos;* a source of wisdom, purity and peace. **Symbols:** white beads, the pearl, white objects and white clothing. **Foods:** goats, pigeons.	Our Lady of Mercy, Holy Eucharist, Resurrected Christ
Mpunga Mama Wanga Choya Wengue	*Oshun*	Third wife of Chango; controls money, love, honey and all sweet things; makes marriages. **Symbols:** alternating white and yellow beads, mirrors, seashells, copper, gold. **Foods:** white hen, goat, sheep.	Our Lady of Charity
Mboma Mama Kalunga, Mama Umba, Mbumba	*Yemaya*	Mother of the *santos* who owns the seas and protects womanhood; patroness of sailors and fishermen. **Symbols:** Alternating white and blue beads. **Foods:** duck, turtle, goat.	Our Lady of Regla
Pengun Futila, Tata Funde	*Babalu-Aye*	Patron of the sick, especially of skin diseases. **Symbols:** Alternating white and purple beads; purple objects, cigars, pennies, glasses of water. **Foods:** doves, hens.	St. Lazarus
Zarabanda, Pungo Dibudi	*Oggun*	Warrior deity who owns the metals and weapons. **Symbols:** Alternating black and green beads, iron objects, chain and pendants of agricultural tools. **Food:** roosters, dogs.	St. Peter

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Adapted from: Charles V. Wetli and Rafael Martinez, "Brujeria: Manifestations of Palo Mayombe in South Florida." *Journal of the Florida Medical Association* (August 1983): Table 1.

The descriptions, symbols and sacrificial foods are attributes of the Afro-Caribbean gods, not the Catholic saints.

Compiling a Search Warrant

Putting together a comprehensive search warrant that may provide badly needed physical evidence is key to an occult crime investigation. Be sure to validate the need for every item prior to the search. While the following items should be included on a search warrant, it is again important to emphasize that when interpreting the actual occult connection between the evidence that is seized and an occult crime, other professional expertise should be obtained.

Clothing and Jewelry

- black satin or velvet right-handed glove;
- robes, detachable hoods;
- costumes and masks;
- martial arts clothing;
- medallions with Satanic symbols;
- large ruby or red-stoned ring.

Games, Books, Wallhangings

- occult games;
- occult books;
- handwritten diaries;
- writings in non-discernable alphabet;
- posters of heavy metal rock stars, mythological beings, nightmarish pictures, sadomasochistic sex.

Weapons

- heavy wooden staff;
- sword;
- knives or athame, a handmade knife with a black handle and etchings;
- bull whip, cat o'nine tails, ligeratures;
- martial arts weapons.

Ritual Items

- altar, wooden stand, marble slab;
- crosses;
- candles and candle holders;
- chalice, goblet, cruet;
- gongs, drums, bells;
- hair and skeletal remains;
- coffin, coffin nails;
- ashes from fire pits, fireplaces, wood stoves;
- phallus, serpent symbols;
- incense and incense burner;
- body paint, face paint;
- feathers;
- mirror;
- twine string;
- herbs, especially salt, bay leaves and garlic;
- caldron or iron pot;
- coins, statues, stones, jewels.

Conducting an Occult-Related Investigation

After the law enforcer checks the crime scene for possible occult links and arranges for an occult-specific search warrant, he or she then must take careful investigative steps designed to build a clear case for the prosecution. An excellent example of how that was accomplished is the Clifford St. Joseph case examined in *Legal Casestudy #3.*

Based upon information obtained from many law enforcers who have investigated occult-related crimes, the following investigative guidelines - many of which are essential for *any* good investigation - are suggested:

1. *Document all evidence as soon as it is received.* Provide a detailed accounting of all that is reported.

2. *Assign at least one investigator who is not a member of the investigatory team to act as a liaison with the media and general public.* This investigator should exclusively handle the media, handle hot line tips, and prioritize leads as they are received.

3. *Involve the District Attorney in the early stages of the investigation.* Realize that by including the D.A. at the beginning, chances increase for a more successful prosecution.

4. *Keep all investigative information confidential for as long as possible.* It is especially important to keep materials confidential until the suspects have been identified.

5. *Execute search warrants as soon as needed, but not short of probable cause.* Be sure to validate the need for every item prior to the search; look for items associated with rituals and/or a belief system as described above and in the various tables.

6. *Keep the following in mind when examining the evidence:* can you determine if the crime involved ritual or violent, random acting out; did the abuse fall into a particular ritualistic pattern; if ritual was involved, was it part of a belief system identified with a particular group or was it an individualistic belief system; and is there any evidence of networking at any level?

7. *Build the case on physical evidence.*

8. *Avoid narcissistic denial.* Do not be mislead with the following types of thoughts: I don't want to be wrong and look like a fool; my supervisor is skeptical the case can be solved, so I better drop it; the suspects are credible in the community so they couldn't have done it or we won't be able to convince a jury they did it; this case will make my career.

Planning and Implementing a Strategy for Ritualistic Child Abuse Investigation with Alleged Occult Links

While some of the same investigative techniques are required of ritualistic child abuse cases with alleged occult links, several specially-tailored steps are also recommended. As Sandi Gallant remarks, "These cases are complicated to investigate and manage. The crime is most clear only in the mind of the perpetrators." Indeed, the ritualistic child abuse cases bring special investigatory problems, including the following:

First, the multiple victim/multiple suspect (MV/MS) situation forces the investigator to work with multiple child victims and to investigate multiple suspects;

Second, as Officer Rick Martinez with the Fountain Valley Police Department notes, "In ritualistic abuse investigations, you can't believe everything you hear. Law enforcers have to corroborate everything they hear. They need to particularly be aware of clinicians and psychologists whose intentions are very good, but they don't have to corroborate what their clients are saying from the law enforcement perspective." (Martinez Seminar, August 16, 1989.)

Third, inadequate cooperation exists between investigators, therapists and the parents;

Fourth, as Officer Sandi Gallant warns, "cops are result oriented, but these cases don't produce results." (Gallant interview, April 3, 1989.)

To help counter the effects of these investigatory problems, the following procedural guidelines are offered:

1. *Document all evidence as soon as it is received.*

2. *Work as a team in which the roles of each team member are clearly defined.* Recognize that the perspectives of each team member will differ, but this is a positive rather than negative factor which encourages a broader base for sharing and analyzing information. The team should be open to new theories, should review the case every 30 days, and should not eliminate any factors unless they are conclusive. Teams should be comprised of individuals with knowledge of ritualized or serial abuse and should minimally consist of investigators, clinicians and child protection workers. The Department psychiatrist may be included in case court testimony about the officer's competence and religious beliefs are attacked by the defense.

3. *Assign at least one investigator who is not a member of the investigatory team to act as a liaison with two groups: parents, custodians and other interested parties and support groups; and the media and general public.* When dealing with parents, this investigator should help find immediate therapeutic assistance for the victim which will not only help the child deal with the trauma, but will help them become a more credible witness. Additionally, this investigator must caution parents to avoid contamination; they may not question the victim but may document any unsolicited revelations. It will become the job of the investigating team to validate any such revelations if they are to become part of the case. When dealing with the public, the investigator should exclusively handle the media, handle hot line tips, and prioritize leads as they are received.

4. *Involve the District Attorney in the early stages of the investigation.*

5. *Keep all investigative information confidential for as long as possible.*

6. *Execute search warrants as soon as needed, but not short of probable cause.* Be sure to have the crime lab print victims as children touch everything; look for false I.D.'s and birth/death certificates; look for items associated with rituals and/or a belief system.

7. *Follow careful, well-documented interview procedures.* Keep in mind when designing the interview questions that you need to determine as best as you can if the abuse described by the victim actually occurred or whether it may have been an illusion designed by perpetrators to frighten or discredit the victims.

Prior to questioning, audiotape all interviews to maintain clarity about who first originated the information and to dispel the theory that interviewers "suggest" certain things to the victim; arrange to assess the victim's verbalization skills and plan questions accordingly; arrange for a clinician to be present to monitor the victim's stress level; inform the parent that it may be necessary for him or her to leave the room; and select an interview location where the child will be comfortable.

Before beginning the actual questioning, it may be helpful to play with the child in some capacity that will help build some rapport. During the actual questioning, do not wear your uniform; use the victim's terminology; do not ask leading or suggestive questions or those with "yes or no" responses; listen carefully and do not interpret what the victim is saying; let the victim speak in the narrative to allow for continuity in the interviewing process and to avoid contaminating the interview's outcome.

8. *Keep the following in mind when examining the evidence and interview results:* can you determine if the crime involved ritual or violent, random acting out; did the abuse fall into a particular ritualistic pattern; if ritual was involved, was it part of a belief system identified with a particular group or was it an individualistic belief system; and is there any evidence of networking at any level?

9. *Build the case on information obtained in the first few interviews which can be substantiated.* Consider conducting a separate investigation for information and accusations gained from interviews for which there is no currently available evidence.

10. *Approach day care center investigations cautiously; check for prior licensing in and out of the state; and conduct extensive background checks on the center and the teachers - field interrogation cards, premise location calls, property records, birth and death records.*

11. *Avoid narcissistic denial.*

Summary

Law enforcers face many legal, spiritual and emotional hurdles when confronted with an alleged occult crime. While there are no simple solutions for jumping over these hurdles, most criminal justice professionals recognize the answer lies somewhere within the educational realm. Indeed, law enforcers must clearly understand the belief systems of occultists and know when practicing such beliefs are within legally-protected Constitutional boundaries and when such practices step over the line into clearly criminal conduct.

Additionally, law enforcers must have a clear comprehension of the barriers they will face when investigating an alleged occult crime and must be able to formulate a plan for overcoming such obstacles. They must understand and be prepared to act upon orders to preform in any of the three capacities required of occult-related law enforcement - maintaining order through a protection role; providing services through a public relations role; and enforcing the law through an investigative role.

And perhaps most importantly, those assigned the task of investigating an alleged occult-related crime must be prepared to recognize occult symbols and rituals at the crime scene or call for a professional opinion from another source; to compile a comprehensive search warrant that may lead to clear physical evidence; to conduct a carefully planned investigation in an alleged occult crime; and when ritualistic child abuse with occult-links is alleged, to plan and implement an investigation strategy specific to that crime.

Legal Casestudy #3
Limits on Practicing Satanic Religion in Prison - Childs v. Duckworth

Childs, a professed Satanist, held occasional informal Satanic meetings with other inmates and accumulated a library of over 200 occult-related books during his several years of incarceration at the Indiana State Prison. In 1976, he requested permission to start a Satanic church at the prison. The warden held the request in abeyance until adequate supervision for the organization was obtained. In 1979, the defendant asked permission to conduct meetings of an organization called "The Satanic Brotherhood." The request was denied on several grounds: the lack of a proper sponsor for the group; lack of information provided officials about the organization; absence of requests from other inmates for such a group; officials' belief that the defendant's profession of Satanic beliefs was insincere; and officials' feeling that Satanic worship would be contrary to rehabilitative goals. The defendant also asked to borrow books on Satanism through the interlibrary loan system for use in group study, and to use candles and incense in his cell. These requests were also denied. In 1982, the defendant filed suit, claiming that his right to conduct certain practices related to his belief in Satanism violated his First Amendment right to the free exercise of religion.

The defendant's action was dismissed after a one-day trial. Upon appeal, the majority of the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit ruled that the state interest in the proper administration of the penal system outweighs the prisoner's right to organize a branch of his religious sect within the prison. Thus, the First Amendment right to free exercise of religion is less protected in the prison context.

The decision's text read in part:

"Our concern, assuming his belief is a religion, is whether the prison restrictions were such that they unlawfully deprived Childs of his First Amendment right to the free exercise of his religion. In this connection we are mindful that while freedom to believe is absolute, the exercise of religion is not...and that prison officials may legitimately impose certain restrictions on the practice of religion in prison, including the right of association, which would be unconstitutional if imposed outside the prison...The issue then is whether the restrictions imposed on the exercise by Childs of his professed beliefs were necessary for the operational security of the prison...We conclude that the restraints imposed by the authorities of the Indiana State Prison upon the practice of the professed beliefs of Childs were reasonable and necessary to obtain legitimate penological objectives and the security of the prison and in no way violated Childs' First and Fourteenth Amendment rights."

Legal Casestudy #4

A Successfully-Prosecuted Case - The People of the State of California vs Clifford St. Joseph

The Facts

On June 15, 1985, the body of a 25-year-old Caucasian male about 5'5" and 130 pounds was found in the South Market area of San Francisco. According to the coronor's report and subsequent testimony, the following was noted about the body of John Doe #60: the presence of very little blood; patterned injuries on the wrists, ankles, back and buttocks indicating the slashings were not random; a cut on the upper lip; a five-sided pentagram carved on the chest; one mutilated testicle; white wax melted in the right eye. From the coronor's report, SFPD investigators felt the crime was related to some Satanic ritual.

On June 23rd, the SFPD received a report for loud behavior at a residence in the Market district owned by Clifford St. Joseph. The investigative officers arrived to find one man hammering on a door, trying to enter the residence. Four individuals - Ed Spela, Rick Hunter, Maurice Bork and Jack Friedlund - were arrested for drunkenness (647f PC). During subsequent questioning, Spela told the arresting officers that he was trying to enter the residence to rescue his friend who was "drugged against his will, forced to submit to sexual acts, and would soon be the victim of a Satanic cult murder." He also said the residents had previously sacrificed a human being. The arresting officers sent a copy of the report to Homicide as "possible information" regarding the John Doe #60 homicide.

Subsequently, Inspector Sanders issued a search warrant for the residence. Bloodstains were found on a blue blanket, on the carpet, and on the bottom center area of some french doors. When the doors were sprayed with luminal, a large blood stain also appeared. All stains were found to be human; further, John Doe #60's blood was the same type as that found on the floor.

On June 25th, Inspector Sanders spoke with Ricky Hunter, the victim in an alleged kidnap, false imprisonment and forcible sodomy case that occurred at the above-named residence subsequent to the homicide. During the interview, Sanders received Spela's name, contacted him and arranged to meet him on June 29th whereupon Spela gave a taped statement in which he confirmed Hunter's statement that he (Hunter) had been gang-raped, manacled with thumb cuffs, and sodomized by four men, including Spela and St. Joseph. Spela further stated that St. Joseph and his two other friends were trying to force Spela to sacrifice Hunter as part of an initiation into a Satanic group. He then provided details about a sacrifice that St. Joseph claimed to have committed a few weeks earlier, the description of which fit the John Doe #60 case. Shortly thereafter, the key witnesses - Spela, Bork and Hunter - disappeared. Although the investigation continued for two years, the case against St. Joseph was not made until 1987 when the witnesses resurfaced to actually corroborate the physical evidence.

The Outcome

Clifford St. Joseph was arrested on June 23, 1987, and charged with first-degree murder (187 PC), sodomy (286(d) PC) and false imprisonment (236 PC). The preliminary hearing occurred in August 1987, he was arraigned in September, and the trial took place in February 1988. After six hours of deliberation on March 17, 1988, the jury delivered a guilty verdict on all three counts. On May 5, 1988, Clifford St. Joseph received a sentence of 34 years to life in prison - 25 years to life for first-degree murder, the maximum 9 years for sodomy and 3 years for false imprisonment to be served concurrent with the sodomy term.

Why the case was successfully prosecuted - the investigator's perspective

During an interview with study author, Dr. Gayle Olson-Raymer, in San Francisco on May 10, 1989, Inspector Sanders related several investigative stages that he felt contributed to the successful prosecution of Clifford St. Joseph.

1. "Good, careful crime scene investigation that stresses how to take a circumstantial case and back it up with physical evidence." As Sanders recalled "fortuitous circumstances" led to the detection of both crime scenes—where the body was found and where the crime was committed—but physical evidence was what tied them together. "This was really a case of circumstantial evidence built upon physical evidence."

2. "Know how to back up very bizarre, shocking stories of marginal witnesses with physical evidence that can back up their stories." All of the witnesses were marginal members of society —two were male prostitutes and the third was a lifelong criminal. The jury would only believe them if the physical evidence left no doubt.

3. "Careful documentation of every circumstance at both crime scenes." The officers who responded to the call at the residence carefully documented everything they witnessed and everything that the arrestees said. Because some of the statements made by Spela sounded suspiciously like the sacrificial case assumed in the John Doe #60 homicide, the officers sent all documentation over for Sanders to inspect. This led to Sanders' careful questioning of the sodomy victim and Spela, which eventually "made the case."

4. "Knowledge of and how to utilize the best available laboratory technology relative to evidence collection." In this case, blood and fiber technology built the case: luminal's application to the french doors linked the blood directly to the victim; and fiber technology linked dog hairs and rug fibers found on the blanket in which John Doe #60 was wrapped with the dog hairs and rug fibers found in St. Joseph's residence.

5. "Vertical prosecution. These cases are just too complicated without bringing the D.A. in from the very first day. The legal ramifications are daily battles and the police need to have the legal system readily available."

Why the case was successfully prosecuted - the prosecutor's perspective

During an interview with Dr. Olson-Raymer in San Francisco on May 10, 1989, Assistant District Attorney Paul Cummins, who tried the case, related several strategies that contributed to St. Joseph's successful prosecution.

1. "Use the evidence to corroborate the shocking stories provided by the witnesses." In his opening statement, Cummins warned the jury that they were "entering a voyage into another world which you don't want to know about." He emphasized that the witnesses were awful human beings who used drugs, sodomized the victim and intended to kill him, committed beastiality, and were involved in a strange Satanic belief system. However, their character and belief system were not on trial; the alleged criminal actions of the defendent were on trial. The stories may be hard if not impossible to believe, but they *had* to be believed because everything the witnesses said was absolutely corroborated by the physical evidence.

2. "Keep your perspective and your outside life together." Cummins warned against becoming obsessed with a case characterized by such bizarre crimes and belief systems. "I've done over 300 jury trials and this was the toughest I have tried...it was really draining, emotional stuff. I almost threw up during the opening statements describing the injuries." However, no matter how bizarre the cast of characters and their actions are, Cummins warns, one must maintain perspective to win the case.

3. "Vertical prosecution should not only be used in every occult-related case, but in all homicide cases." By bringing in the D.A. from the first moments, Cummins feels successful resolution is more likely.

Summary

This was a case of clear and careful cooperation between law enforcement and the district attorney. Both agree that the case was successful not only due to vertical prosecution, but because investigatory techniques led to the discovery of physical evidence that corroborated the stories of otherwise disreputable witnesses. In other words, this case was won because solid criminal investigative methods were used *and* because the investigators and prosecutors did not allow the prevalance of a Satanic belief system to become the object of legal pursuit. A *murderer*, not a perpetrator of a Satanic crime, was tried and convicted as such!

When asked what needs to be done to assure successful prosecution of other occult-related cases, Inspector Sanders and Assistant DA Cummins agreed that first and foremost, law enforcers and prosecutors should have some basic understanding of occult belief systems. Cummins felt an overview seminar for prosecutors would be enough and there was no need for in-depth special training, adding that "the rules of evidence are the same in any criminal trial." Sanders, however, recommended more detailed training for investigators who need to "recognize occult rituals; be aware of all the occult groups in your area, and know all your community's ethnic, racial and religious cultural groups and their belief systems." Secondly, both agreed that vertical prosecution should always be the rule in occult cases. For more information, contact:

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Conclusion

Throughout this eight-month journey into the world of the occult, only one shared conviction was found among law enforcers, researchers, therapists, prosecutors, and victims interviewed for this study: there are no simple questions, no simple answers, and no simple truths regarding occult crime. Because this new "field" of occult crime has been pioneered by people with wide-ranging spiritual convictions, professional objectives, political agendas, and emotional commitments, it appears that everyone thinks they are right *and* that everyone else is wrong. The real problem is that everyone has a valid *perspective;* but the valid perspectives are all-too-often based upon fears, emotion, spiritual beliefs and hearsay.

It has been upon this foundation of wide-ranging *perspectives* that a whole new breed of law enforcement "experts" have arisen. They appear in seminars and workshops across the nation, presenting "evidence" gained from their personal interpretation of occult crime , often without factual foundation, physical evidence, or explanations of other perspectives. But in truth, as one seminar presenter emphasized, "There are no experts. Much of what the so-called 'experts' tell you, they *believe* to be true. But the only true experts are the practitioners, those who practice from the inside!" (Paulhus seminar, August 16, 1989.)

If there are no experts, then to whom can law enforcers turn for informed knowledge about the occult? The results of this study *indicate that law enforcers who are willing to learn accurate information about occult belief systems, eager to network with colleagues and other professionals in related professions, open to listening to opposing and controversial perspectives of other professionals, and committed to being objective fact finders, can and should rely upon themselves and their colleagues.*

Many law enforcers believe the climate exists for creating a network of such enlightened officers and that the time is right for men and women from divergent spiritual, philosophical, political, social, and economic perspectives to exchange what they *know* and what they *don't know* about occult crime. In other words, it is time for law enforcers to put aside personal convictions long enough to consider the convictions of other colleagues and try to reach some cooperative agreements about how to approach actual and alleged occult crime.

To that end, many officers have helped compile a "what is needed wish list" that would enable the law enforcement community to honestly, accurately, and constitutionally deal with occult crime. The following recommendations reflect the shared ideas of the many law enforcers, criminal justice professionals, and allied practitioners who worked with Dr. Olson-Raymer to make this study possible. The "wish list" items have been prioritized to reflect an accurate representation of all responses.

1. **Encourage the development of accurate, unbiased education and training specifically aimed at law enforcers.** While the content of such education, qualifications of instructors, and the extent to which law enforcement resources should be committed to such education are all subject to debate, law enforcers universally agreed education was the first priority. Among the most prevalent suggestions about the contents of any education effort were the following:

- a historical and contemporary discussion of occult belief systems;
- an examination of case studies in which the occult was allegedly involved or actually found to be linked to the commission of a crime;
- discussion of the distinctions between occult activity and occult crime;
- a definitional distinction between occult crime and ritualistic crime;
- profiles of occult crime perpetrators specifically addressing causal factors that may or may not be related to occult affiliations;
- an examination of the claims of occult crime victims with special emphasis on the issues surrounding alleged survivors of ritualistic abuse;
- a description of investigative tools and investigative techniques recommended for alleged occult crimes and specifically for alleged ritualistic abuse; and
- suggested resources for further assistance.

The quality of such contents is directly tied to the qualifications of instructors. The majority of law enforcers insisted instruction must be given by *unbiased* sources who have no emotional or spiritual stake in the results and whose presentations reflect none of their personal religious beliefs. This included law enforcers, researchers or other so-called "experts" with clear and public ties to any social or religious organization; most officers felt that even when such instructors state their religious beliefs are not part of the educational presentation, such spiritual commitment cannot help but permeate and prejudice the training effort.

Two characteristics are particularly invaluable in instructors:

- a track record with other law enforcement agencies that proves the trainer encourages an open atmosphere where officers may voice opinions and freely challenge any statements or assertions of which they are uncertain; and

- actual experience conducting occult investigations and/or actual research on occult crime.

Those who fit into this instructional mode should then be encouraged to elicit participant involvement in any training experience and, most importantly, should be specifically asked to limit their presentations to what they actually and factually *know* about the occult through their personal investigative and/or research experiences.

Some law enforcers recommended education be provided by a panel of people with experience in the occult and occult crime. Such a panel would ideally consist of one or more of the following: law enforcers who had investigated occult-related cases; practicing and/or former occultists; victims; therapists; researchers with in-depth journalistic or academic experience on occult topics; and prosecutors who have successfully or unsuccessfully prosecuted an occult-related criminal case.

The extent to which training should be provided in the face of scarce law enforcement sources is a hotly debated subject. Many officers felt every law enforcement officer in urban departments should receive a brief educational overview; others felt all investigators should receive in-depth training; still others felt that because occult crimes should simply be treated as crimes not specifically tied to a belief system, no specialized training was necessary as long as officers knew investigative techniques. The results of this study indicate that enough concern about actual and perceived occult crime exists across the nation that each urban department and most rural departments should have at least one specially trained and educated person in their department. He or she may not need in-depth occult education, but at the very least, should be grounded in the subjects listed above, should be in touch with other law enforcers involved in occult criminal investigation, and should be aware of other criminal justice and allied resources that could be called for further assistance.

2. Create a regional or statewide networking task force to discuss cooperative ways to handle alleged and actual cases of occult crime. Almost every law enforcer contacted in the course of this study suggested the need for a networking task force of some kind. Some felt membership should be exclusively law enforcement, making intelligence exchange its primary purpose. Others supported multidisciplinary membership with criminal justice professionals, therapists, medical practitioners, and researchers exchanging ideas for cooperative strategies that can lead to successful educational and prosecution efforts. A substantial number of persons interviewed for this study felt such a task force would be an ideal forum for publicly debating the many issues surrounding the occult; that is, for dealing with the many controversies surrounding occult crime and, hopefully, reaching some solutions that would meet the needs and interests of all parties currently involved in the debates.

3. Approach occult investigation with objectivity. Almost all law enforcers stated that investigators cannot approach a case with an "I believe the crime occurred and I will find a way to make it believable" attitude. Instead, most assert, officers must deal only with all the facts as they are presented and get past their emotions. Such objectivity requires the investigator to shed his or her own moral and spiritual assumptions about people and remember that his or her own life experiences are irrelevant to the investigation. Further, some officers were concerned about "oversensitized" law enforcers who, after attending occult crime seminars, often lose their objectivity. Such officers have a tendency to begin seeing "a Satanist under every rock" and to interpret each new "weird" or inexplicable crime as possibly occult related. In some cases, officers have reopened old cases which they believe may have had occult ties to which they were not sensitive prior to training.

4. Develop an occult intelligence capacity. Many law enforcers stated the need for each department to begin developing occult intelligence, especially by cultivating sources within the occult community and among former occultists. Many law enforcers emphasized that intelligence gathered about community occult organizations should be used primarily as an *educational* tool. That is, intelligence should be a vehicle for law enforcers to obtain *objective* information about occult groups operating in the community; intelligence should *not* be used to gather potentially incriminating information about occultists who are free to legally practice their spiritual beliefs and rituals.

5. Encourage the development of occult educational materials and presentations designed for other criminal justice professionals and therapists. Law enforcers felt they should encourage the development of and participate in the distribution of educational materials for therapists and criminal justice professionals, especially prosecutors, parole and probation officers, and jail and prison personnel. Officers were especially concerned that most persons approach a case without basic knowledge of the occult and successful prosecution strategies for such cases. Because some cases have been successfully prosecuted, officers point to the fact that the basic knowledge is available, but has yet to be tapped for training purposes.

6. Encourage the implementation of a proactive public relations strategy designed to quell hysteria and rumors about occult activity and crime. Law enforcers voiced a need to help create a community

atmosphere where hysteria and rumors cannot flourish in the face of an occult incident or crime. While most law enforcers felt they should not be involved directly in such a public relations/educational effort, they were eager to learn from and utilize the services of people with experience in occult activities. An additional step would involve assigning a departmental liaison to work with the media during occult and occult-related incidents. If law enforcement communicates with the media through pre-established channels, the media can help educate the public rather than spread misinformation and rumors.

7. Stop debating the actual extent of occult crime and begin dealing with the perceptual problem. Most law enforcers were tired of the controversy surrounding the extent of occult crime. Many admitted that by defining occult crime as crimes distinctly motivated by a spiritual belief system, then an insignificant number of actual occult crimes have been documented by the criminal justice system. Clearly, the number of crimes committed is not as important as the fact that a substantial number of citizens, law enforcers, and therapists *perceive* occult crime is a problem. Such perceptions, then , make occult crime a problem for the law enforcement community. Thus, departments must *proactively* educate their own personnel and the public about legal and alleged illegal occult activities.

8. Create multidisciplinary boards to deal with occult crime victims. Some law enforcers felt they should be involved in the creation, implementation and activities of a multidisciplinary board comprised of mental health practitioners, family members, occult experts and law enforcers who would consider every reported case of occult crime in which a victim was involved - especially ritualistic crime. Many felt such boards would be particularly effective if members created an individualized treatment plan for each case and then monitored the course of such treatment.

This law enforcement "wish list" is neither a large nor impossible agenda. In short, first and foremost, law enforcers want to be the recipients of objective information about the occult presented by objective and experienced instructors. Second, they want occult-related investigations to be conducted by objective law enforcers who base their actions upon firm educational knowledge and sound intelligence about occult groups and activities within their jurisdictions. Third, they want to help create and be involved in several types of communication forums that emphasize cooperative involvement in understanding and responding to the occult. Fourth, they want to stop dwelling on the controversy surrounding the extent of occult crime and deal with the problems presented by law enforcement and community perceptions of occult activity and occult crime.

And the debate continues...

Much of the information for this study has been provided by occult cops, those law enforcers who have been involved in occult crime investigations. Many of their specific recommendations have been included herein: clues to look for during a crime scene investigation; what to look for in a search warrant; what rituals and symbols might indicate occult involvement in criminal activity; what the law enforcement community needs to combat occult crime.

It should be noted, however, that a growing number of law enforcers feel investigators should not be trained to look for specific occult-related clues; to seize occult paraphernalia without legal evidence of criminal association; or train law enforcers to be mini-occult experts; and that law enforcement agencies should not devote scarce law enforcement resources to a perceived rather than actual crime problem. In the words of two leading proponents of these viewpoints:

Kenneth Lanning, Supervisory Special Agent for the FBI, states that he has been asked by many police officers "what they should look for during the search at the scene of suspected satanic activity. The answer is simple: look for evidence of a crime. A pentagram is no more criminally significant than a crucifix unless it corroborates a crime or a criminal conspiracy. If a victim's description of the location where a crime occurred or description of the instruments of the crime includes a pentagram, then the pentagram would be evidence. But the same would be true if the description included a crucifix. In spite of what is sometimes said or suggested at law enforcement training conferences, police have no authority to seize any satanic or occult paraphernalia they might see during a search. There must be a legally valid reason for doing so. It is not the job of law enforcement to prevent satanists from engaging in non-criminal beliefs or rituals. There must be a middle ground in this issue...Law enforcers need to know something about satanism and the occult in order to properly evaluate their possible connections to and motivations for criminal activity. The focus, however, must be on the objective investigation of violations of criminal statutes." (Lanning, 1989:27.)

Robert Hicks, a former police officer and currently a Criminal Justice Analyst with Virginia's Department of Criminal Justice Services, has recently written, "Officers can and should stick to the Constitutional basics: they investigate irregular behavior based on a well-founded and legally-defined reasonable suspicion; they arrest based on probable cause. No one expects police to ignore pentagrams drawn in blood at a homicide scene: complete documentation of crime scenes has always been the rule. But we have no justification for carrying on unwarranted explorations of the beliefs of the unpopular few, or from waving books at seminars and pronouncing them dangerous...In short, law enforcers must remove the 'cult' from cult crime and do their job accordingly." (Hicks, 1989: 29-30.)

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